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CONTENTS

The Battle of Production		851
Labor Unity—The Demand of the Hour		868
The Pamphlet by Junius	*V. I. Lenin*	
	Introductory Remarks by Robert Minor	876
Some Problems of the Negro People in the National Front to Destroy Hitler and Hitlerism	*James W. Ford*	888
Women in the National Front Against Hitler	*Ella Reeve Bloor and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*	897
Farm Production for Defense	*James S. Allen*	910
The National Groups in the National Front	*A. Landy*	917
Priorities Unemployment in the Automobile Industry	*Pat Toohey*	937

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THE BATTLE OF PRODUCTION

THE battle of production is now engaging major attention in the country. And this is as it should be. For production today—all production, every phase of economic activity—has become a battlefront for national defense, for the defense of the United States.

Today our production for national defense is one of the most crucial battlefronts against Hitler Germany. It is vital for strengthening the armed forces of the nation and for enabling them to collaborate actively in annihilating the menace of Hitlerism to the United States. It is essential for defending our first lines of national security on the military fronts in the Soviet Union, as well as around the British Isles, in China, the Middle East or Latin America.

Victory on these military fronts—and on the highly important Western Front which America and England should speedily open as a matter of self-defense to ensure the crushing of Hitlerism—requires immediate victory on the production front *and* speedy, large-scale deliveries to the decisive Eastern front, and to every fighting front against Hitlerism. One is inseparable from the other. Hence, the struggle for production is a struggle for national defense, for the military defeat and destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism.

But, as the President's second report on the expenditures, production and deliveries under the Lend-Lease Act signalized, America's production for national defense, for really aiding the valiant Soviet, British and Chinese peoples, is in a critical state, is dangerously lagging, is not yet really set in motion to defend America and destroy Hitlerism. Therefore the American people must now approach the question of production in a new way. The chief reason for this lies in the fact that production for the defeat of Hitler Germany, for the crushing of fascism and the triumph of democracy, *now serves a true national interest.* It serves the interests of the United States, of the entire nation and *all* of its people, and not just the interests of the employers. It serves the interests of the national independence and freedom of our country, of the progress and well-being of our people. This means that production for the crushing of Hitler serves the best and most fundamental interests of the American workers as a class, and of its allies among the common people of the country. For the immediate and ultimate class aims of the American workers, which are in accord with and advance the genuine national interests of the country, necessitate and demand

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that Hitlerism—which is now the worst and most deadly enemy of the international working class, of all peoples and nations—shall be smashed and wiped off the face of the earth. Without this, the American workers can neither safeguard nor advance either their immediate or ultimate class interests. This is also why labor has a primary interest in the success of the battle of production.

This does not mean to say that the existing capitalist mode of production has changed its nature; that it has ceased to produce profits for the capitalists and exploitation for the workers. No; it does not mean that. Only socialism can transform fundamentally the class nature of our economy, making it national in every respect, enabling it to serve the interests of the nation always and under all circumstances. That is why socialism is the ultimate aim of the class struggle. It is the ultimate solution of all the fundamental problems of our nation and of all nations. But today—when the central issue confronting the American working class and people, the entire nation, is democracy or fascism, national freedom or enslavement—American labor cannot and does not now place before itself as an immediate and practical task the fundamental alteration of the existing class relations of production, that is, the transition from capitalism to socialism.

American labor, and its allies among the toiling people, place before themselves now an immediate task of a decisive nature. It is the task of defending the national independence and freedom of the United States from the menacing aggressions of Hitlerite Germany. Life itself has placed before American labor the immediate task of helping to bring about a united national front, a solid national unity, for the defeat and destruction of Hitler fascism. It is the task of helping to save the nation from the greatest peril to its existence that has ever confronted it. Without performing this task first, without the military defeat of Hitler Germany and the destruction of fascism, no other task can find its full solution or become practical.

We must now help mobilize the full power of the United States in support of, in the closest collaboration with, and as an active partner of the anti-Hitler coalition which is developing around the Soviet-British military alliance. And the battle of production has become a crucial part of this national mobilization.

Labor must beware of those so-called "friends" that seek to keep the American working class passive and indifferent to the nation's war effort and the battle of production. These are the "friends" of labor who demand special concessions for labor as a condition for labor's fullest participation in the national defense program, who preach that labor has no stake in the war to destroy Hitlerism, that this is not our war. These are not friends of labor but its enemies: enemies of our class as well as of our nation. They are the helpers of the Wheelers and Norman Thomases, of the Hoovers and Lindberghs, with whom John L. Lewis has associated himself, of

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all those that are working for a Hitler victory. Hypocritically pleading the "defense" of labor's interests, they are in reality working for labor's most vicious and dangerous enemy—Hitlerite Germany and fascism.

These appeasers and helpers of fascism hope to frighten labor away from the national war effort against Hitler by the cry of "sacrifices." Labor, they says, has to make sacrifices, for which they blame the present foreign policy of the government and the program of national defense, and *not* Hitler and Hitlerism, *not* the most reactionary, the pro-Hitler circles of the bourgeoisie, *not* those that are creating and cultivating pro-Hitler appeasement in the United States. In doing so, these so-called "friends" of labor expose the fact that they are interested not in labor's standards and rights but in obstructing the nation's war effort against Hitler Germany, that they are national traitors, the worst enemies of labor and American democracy.

Because if it is necessary to make sacrifices for the independence and future of the nation, of the United States, for the liberties and national welfare of the American people—and this is the question—how can a true friend of labor and of the people discourage or oppose the making of such sacrifices? He cannot and does not. And he who does is no friend of labor but an enemy.

American labor knows that for every advance it has made through many decades of our history, it had to wage bitter struggle and make great sacrifices. Together with the rest of our people, American labor also knows that historic struggles had to be waged—at times long and bloody struggles—and great sacrifices had to be made to create the American nation, to preserve its unity and independence, to preserve and develop its democratic institutions, to build and strengthen its labor movement, to keep it on the road of progress and growth. Nothing worthwhile for our nation and the masses of our people was ever gained or preserved without struggle and sacrifice. Who does not know that? Certainly, labor does. How then can the appeasers and their allies expect to frighten labor away from the national war effort by the cry of "sacrifices"? Only in one way. By making it appear that the sacrifices are not required for the nation's good, that the nation is not in peril, that Hitlerite Germany is not a menace to our national existence and freedom, which include the rights and very existence of the labor movement. And this is what the appeasers are saying. Hence, this is the criminal and dangerous lie that has to be exposed and nailed down. The American people have to be aroused as never before in our history to the national peril coming from Hitlerite Germany, to the menace of fascism, to the anti-national and treacherous game played by the Quislings in the United States.

The plain fact is that the nation has not yet been fully aroused to the dangers facing it, to the trials and tribulations confronting it, to the great struggles that will have to be waged, to the heavy sacrifices

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that will have to be made. And there can be not the slightest doubt that, when so aroused, the American people will give to the national cause everything that cause demands. Everything. It is therefore the sacred task and duty of the leaders of the nation, of all true national forces, to arouse the people fully to the dangers, tasks and opportunities. It is the task of the leaders of labor to mobilize the full power of the American working class for uniting and rallying the nation, for national unity for the utmost prosecution of the national objective—the defeat and destruction of Hitlerism. And it is one of the chief and most urgent tasks of the labor movement to mobilize the working class for the battle of production.

Now, as in all times of great national crises, labor will not shrink from making sacrifices for national security and freedom, whatever these may entail. And labor will insist that the good of the nation and not the selfish demands of the pro-Hitler elements of the bourgeoisie should dictate and determine the government's policies. This means that, from the broad class standpoint of labor, there can be no question of whether or not everything should be done to defend the nation from the Hitler menace. Why? Because the defeat of this menace, the eradication of the fascist plague for all time, is the greatest, the overwhelming and the all-inclusive immediate task of the working class and of all working people, of every patriotic and liberty loving American regardless of class, nationality or political beliefs. For the realization of this task, no sacrifices are too big or too heavy. Labor's concern, therefore, is not with the cost of the struggle but with the struggle itself, *with its successful prosecution and conclusion.* Strikes, too, are costly; in many instances—very costly. But when forced by the employers to resort to this weapon in defense of its interests, labor enters the fight whatever the cost in the immediate situation; and once in the fight, labor's chief concern is to wage it in such a way as to win it. And the war to crush Hitler and fascism is the biggest and most decisive struggle which the American working class as yet had to wage. No "cost" is too great to win it. For without victory in this fight, the fate of American labor would become that of the labor movement and people now enslaved by the Nazis in France and Norway, Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Hitler fascism has forced upon the American working class and upon the American nation a life and death struggle. It is either he or we. And it can't be both together. The overwhelming majority of the American people have accepted the challenge. The job now is to enter the fight in close collaboration with and as a fighting part of the anti-Hitler coalition, to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. This and only this is the true position of the working class. And it is from this national position and the most vital interests of the labor movement that the battle of production has to be examined and organized.

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It follows, therefore, that the main task in the sphere of production is to make it serve fully and completely the interests of national defense. It is to carry through the mobilization of the entire national economy for the purpose of waging and winning the war against Hitler Germany. It is to remove all obstacles now standing in the way of such mobilization. It is to eliminate from the national defense set-up all pro-Hitler influences that are sabotaging the battle of production. It is the creation of a solid national unity for the war effort, a unity that will make full use of labor's organized strength, initiative and proposals for the winning of the battle of production and for national defense.

The battle of production should therefore be carried on under the following slogans: For National Unity in Defense of the United States! For Full Participation of the United States in the Anti-Hitler Coalition! All Aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China! Mobilize the Entire National Economy for Maximum Production to Crush Hitler and Hitlerism! Expose and Combat the Pro-Hitler Appeasement Forces That Are Sabotaging Production and National Defense! For the Unity of American Labor in the United National Effort Against Hitler! Develop Labor's Organized Strength, Initiative and Activities for Maximum Production for National Defense!

Mobilization of the National Economy

It is unquestionable that the battle of production has made considerable progress in many fields, although not uniformly, despite the passive and active sabotage of the pro-Hitler appeasement forces. But it is progress only in relation to what we had at the start. Measured, however, by the ever-growing needs of the war against Hitler Germany, the battle of production is just unfolding itself. Our full capacities have yet to be tapped, significant as are already the results of the production effort.

There is still too much complacency, too much of a "Business as usual" outlook on the part of most employers and even of many workers. Also there are still too many vacillations and half-way measures on the part of the Administration in unfolding its defense program—just as there is still too much of a gap between the government's pledges of all-out aid to those nations fighting or resisting Hitlerism and its current policy, which is still based on limited aid to and limited collaboration with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China.

A report of the research division of the Works Progress Administration, made public on August 15, throws some light on the problems facing the further and more rapid unfoldment of the production struggle. According to this report, the *rate* of defense production growth (not its absolute growth) tends to slow down. It shows that production gains were most rapid in the first months of the defense effort, manifesting tendencies to a decreasing rate of growth in subsequent months (*N.Y. Times*, Aug. 15). The

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explanation given in the report is that, since the idle capacity available at the start of the defense effort has been brought into production, "the pace of future advance will be geared to the completion of new facilities." *(Ibid.)*. For the immediate future, the report makes the prediction that:

"Henceforth, production gains will tend to come in fits and starts; output will move upward in a series of steps. When new plants are completed and additional workers have been trained, another step-up will occur. The achievement of full employment and maximum utilization of resources is not an immediate prospect." (*Ibid.*)

This is not a very optimistic prediction. What is even worse, it may turn out to be true if we do not at once proceed on a course of complete mobilization of the national economy for the war effort; a mobilization of the entire national economy. But if we do carry out such a mobilization this pessimistic prediction will most certainly not come true.

We do not propose to ignore the "limiting" factors stressed by the report. Namely: that in certain areas, production is reaching or has already reached capacity and that, therefore, further gains will depend more closely upon the completion of new facilities; or that the spreading of defense orders (farming out) will meet the need of expansion only partially. These are undoubtedly "limiting" factors, but only in a relative sense, only so long as our production effort for national defense is partial and not complete. But the moment the correct approach is adopted to the battle of production, and *the entire national economy* is taken as the base for the battle, the effect of these "limiting" factors will progressively and rapidly decrease.

For example: existing capacity is not as rigid a thing as might appear at first glance. It can be stretched considerably, provided there are the will, the proper organization, the full utilization of labor's organizations, initiative and capacities, efficient coordination of various branches of industry, the elimination of passive or active sabotage by pro-Hitler forces. Existing capacity can be made to do wonders when the national economy is viewed as a whole and placed completely in the service of the national war effort. The same is true with the spreading of defense orders to smaller plants and wider areas. Even on the present basis of defense production, such a step will increase substantially production output. Therefore, the importance of "farming out" should not be minimized. But this same measure will result in incomparably larger output if carried through on the basis of a complete mobilization of the national economy for the war effort.

This latter deserves further elaboration. The very conception of spreading defense orders has to be *broadened.* It has to be broadened to include every plant, every farm, and every facility, no matter how small, that can be converted wholly or partly to defense production. And defense production itself is be-

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ginning to include nearly every branch of economic activity. In other words, the conception of defense production has to be broadened, because the old difference between defense and "non-defense" production is progressively losing importance. And the building of new facilities for defense production would also proceed more rapidly when promoted on the basis of a complete mobilization of *all* resources for winning the battle of production.

Viewed from this angle, the "troublesome" problem of priorities would assume a different meaning. It would become a problem of establishing a proper balance between various phases of the national economy, with every branch of it and all of them together serving the one main need of national defense, namely, the military defeat of Hitler Germany. All branches of production, and all phases of economic activity, would become branches of national defense. And the practical problem would be one of *distributing* the material and human resources in such a way as to produce the maximum results in the shortest time.

The yardstick for maximum results is, of course, the need of defending America, of the military struggle against Hitler Germany, the supply of weapons of war for the anti-Hitler coalition, including America as an active military participant, the supply of everything necessary for the armies and peoples of this coalition. The economic and production front would become truly part of the war front, which it has to become in order to achieve victory over fascism. Therefore, the problem today is no longer of priorities in the old sense but of *full mobilization and distribution* of all actual and potential resources for the production of everything required by the war effort.

On the basis of a complete mobilization of the national economy, such measures as the following, ready in planning and partly in the process of execution, will insure a rapid expansion of the production effort. They are: (a) the spreading of defense orders to all available plants, industries and regions; (b) a more rapid conversion of existing plants to defense needs and the building of new facilities; (c) the development of a national agricultural program of planned expansion designed to meet growing domestic needs as well as to guarantee vital food supplies to England, China and the Soviet Union; (d) a wider and more intensive training and re-training of labor for defense production (from the unemployed and non-defense labor), with payment of union wages during the period of training and preservation of seniority rights for workers transferred from non-defense to defense production; (e) a wage policy that insures a worker's income commensurate with the greatly increasing and intensifying exertions in production on the part of labor and fully covering the rising cost of living; (f) a trade union policy that insures fully labor's rights of organization and collective bargaining, without abrogating the right to strike, a right which the

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government should safeguard by ensuring the enforcement of labor and social legislation and which labor affirms shall not be exercised against the interests of national defense and maximum production; (g) adequate housing accommodations and provision for all normal living facilities for workers in all defense production centers; (h) encouragement of and support to all labor initiative and suggestions for increasing production, adopting the principles of the Murray Plan and establishing adequate labor representation and responsibility from top to bottom throughout the entire national defense machinery, combating as sabotage of national defense suppression and discouragement of labor's initiative; and full share in helping formulate and administer the defense program; (i) exposure and struggle against the pro-Hitler forces that are obstructing and sabotaging the mobilization of the national economy for defense production.

It is clear that the foregoing measures for the war mobilization of the national economy do not call for any fundamental changes in the existing capitalist system or in the capitalist mode of production. That is evident without further clarification at this time. The need of the present situation is *to take the existing mode of production as is and to put it fully at the service of the war effort.* And all that this requires is a complete war mobilization of the national economy, vigilantly taking care that no sabotage can take place by the pro-Hitler appeasement forces.

It is also clear that the war mobilization of the national economy for national defense will be attained most rapidly and with least waste of time and energy by the adoption of the Murray Plan, and of similar proposals from A. F. of L. organizations, and of the Railroad Brotherhoods, for the promotion of national defense production. By *uniting* their efforts in support of the developing national unity and in support of their plans for national defense production, these great labor organizations would be striving more effectively for the realization of these plans.

This does not mean to suggest that labor should wait passively for the realization of these plans. No; the struggle for national defense against Hitler allows no such attitude. The situation requires, on the contrary, that the full strength of organized labor, the full capacities of the American working class, and the entire influence of the great labor movement *acting unitedly,* be organized for the national war effort, for the consummation of national unity for the defeat of Hitler Germany, especially for the promotion and winning of the battle of production. In this way, and only in this way, can labor strive successfully for the realization of its role, its initiative and plans in the united national effort. Above all, labor cannot allow anyone in its organization to exploit the failure of certain government circles to adopt labor's production plans and proposals for adequate labor representation in all national defense agencies and councils as an "ex-

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cuse" for passivity or indifference to the national war effort. Actively and fully participating in all defense bodies already in existence, giving to the utmost of their experience and abilities, the representatives and leaders of labor will best serve the interests of the working class and of the nation at the present time and, in this very process, they will enlarge labor's initiative and role in the united national war effort and in the battle of production.

Labor, as well as the rest of the nation, is interested most acutely in the *rapid* war mobilization of the national economy. Such a rapid mobilization is absolutely necessary also from the standpoint of overcoming large-scale "priority" unemployment as well as for the absorption into industry of the "regular" unemployed. Present estimates indicate that unemployment will decline by only about 1,500,000 during the fiscal year of 1942, leaving a total unemployment of between 5,500,000 and 7,500,000 during the same period. This would be a terrific wastage of our labor resources, entailing great and needless suffering, and constituting a great detriment to the war effort.

But this need not be so. A total war mobilization of the national economy will considerably reduce, and not increase, unemployment. It would greatly lessen and help to rapidly overcome the so-called "priority unemployment" because the *entire* national economy would be mobilized for national defense and not just parts of it, and the transitional periods for conversion and retraining would then be reduced to a minimum.

Meanwhile the trade unions in cooperation with industry and government should give greater attention to coping with the present acute problems arising from the growth of "priority" unemployment. Everywhere it is necessary, especially on the part of the Administration and the leaders of labor, to mobilize the workers politically, to really explain why the defense of America requires such measures as speeding up and extending the system of allocating and rationing raw materials, re-tooling and equipping non-defense plants and industries for defense production, etc. Everywhere it is necessary to effect better planning and coordination in the operation of the present system of establishing and executing priorities and in accelerating the conversion and utilization of "non-defense" plants for the defense program, such as in the auto industry. Everywhere it is also necessary to alleviate the hardships arising from this for the workers and small business; *i.e.*, to organize the re-training of workers from the non-defense industries, with minimum wages paid by the government and the employers; to protect seniority rights and Social Security status; to secure emergency federal aid or insurance for workers affected by "priority" unemployment; to secure legislation for a moratorium on debts, mortgages and rent payments of all workers and small business men directly hit by "priority dislocation" and dismissals. But all this must be done so as to

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rapidly augment defense production, to speed up and not retard the war mobilization of the entire national economy.

From whichever angle, therefore, labor approaches the battle of production, every single interest of the working class as well as of the rest of the nation, immediate and long-run, demands the utmost activity and initiative of the labor movement in the united effort for national defense. The more actively and fully labor's representatives will participate in the existing defense bodies, the more *rapidly* our economy will become fully mobilized for the war effort, the more *successfully* will be solved all the industrial problems arising from the present situation.

Rationing, Price Fixing and Fiscal Policy

Among the more important specific problems arising from a war mobilization of the national economy, the following are generally recognized as the most crucial ones: Rationing of material resources and the proper utilization of labor power, price fixing and regulation, and fiscal policy (taxation, borrowing, etc.). A successful solution of these problems is a precondition for the successful outcome of the battle of production.

The President's executive order (Aug. 28) establishing the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board (S.P.A.B.) is plainly a response to the growing realization that the time is here for a complete war mobilization of the nation's economy and that rationing and price fixing would constitute some of the main methods for this task. It is true that the duties of this board as outlined in the executive order do not explicitly provide for total economic mobilization, but implicit in that order are nearly all the possibilities for developing the work in the desired direction. Labor's influence can accomplish much for insuring such a development.

First, on the question of rationing. It is clear that the time has already arrived when all those resources that are required for the production of weapons of war as well as those for which shortages already exist or are anticipated—*that all these resources must* at once be mobilized fully and completely and distributed by the method of rationing. When maximum production in the minimum of time is of the essence, and strategic resources have to be planfully husbanded and distributed, rationing is the only direct method of immediate effectiveness. It is at present also the only democratic and just way of handling resources that are either strategic in their nature or in which there are shortages.

It is obvious that the authorities governing the rationing of resources are and will be controlling the most crucial phase of national defense on the economic field. Utmost vigilance must, therefore, be exercised to guard against all pro-Hitler appeasement influences upon the work of these authorities and to remove from the national defense set-up all pro-Hitler elements.

Second, on the question of price fixing. Government regulation and

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fixing of prices (including house rents) have become a necessity for the national war effort. And here a certain distinction could still be made for the moment in order not to delay further the establishment of necessary price controls, between various classes of materials and commodities. Those that have to be rationed (strategic and shortage materials) must also have their prices fixed by government authority. Rationing without price fixing is an impossibility. All other goods and materials, which do not have to be rationed for the present, must have their prices so regulated as to prevent an inflationary run-away of prices and a continued rising cost of living. For these reasons, the Henderson Bill now before Congress should be supported, with the necessary amendments.

There should be included within the scope of this Bill at least the following things: (a) general house rents for low-income groups throughout the country; (b) definite powers of price regulation for *all* commodities entering into the cost of living of the masses of the people; and (c) provision for local price authorities to be composed democratically of representatives of labor, consumer organizations, farmers and merchants. No legislation or governmental action for "freezing" wage scales is required for the national defense effort and wage rates can and should be adjusted and improved through the medium of collective bargaining, voluntary mediation and adequate minimum wage laws.

It is impossible to ignore the fact any more that the rising cost of living is becoming a real threat. Labor Department index figures show a 6 per cent rise in the cost of living since 1939 and a 3 per cent rise since June, 1941. Wholesale prices have risen more than 18 per cent since 1939 and more than 10 per cent since January, 1941; and those, as pointed out by the C.I.O. Economic Outlook, "will be very quickly reflected in retail costs." Worse still, certain articles of consumption, and house rents in various localities have risen as high as 20 and 30 per cent. Clearly, the Henderson Bill, with the indicated amendments, must be passed without further delay. And in exercising the powers provided by the Bill, everything will have to be done *to combat and curtail all speculation in foodstuffs.*

There is no doubt that wide price regulation by the government in the present situation carries with it certain dangers of bureaucratic misuse of the power thus granted. The pro-Hitler appeasement forces, inside and outside of Congress, are playing upon this fact to obstruct the enactment of wide price regulation. But this danger of bureaucratic misuse of powers that are necessary for the good of national defense and have to be granted can best be guarded against by the institution of democratic controls from below—the establishment of local price authorities democratically composed.

Third, on the question of government fiscal policy. Government policy on taxation and borrowing should be guided by the needs of

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mobilizing the capital resources of the country for the nation's war effort against Hitler Germany. On this principle, it is evident that additional taxation at the present time must not be imposed upon the low-income groups of the population, either directly or indirectly. In saying so, labor does not and cannot take the position that the low-income groups must be exempt from doing everything necessary for national defense. Labor's expressed opposition to lowering tax exemptions for the low-income groups at the present time is motivated by two main considerations. One is that the lowering of tax exemptions, as provided by the latest tax bill, *is not now necessary* for the financing of national defense. The other is that such taxation, by curtailing the purchasing power of the masses, directly impairs the physical standards and capacities of those who are doing and are expected to do the hardest and most strenuous labor for national defense. It impairs production. For the same reason, we must oppose the proposal of the Treasury to raise the contributions of labor to the social security taxes.

Financial means for the war effort must be raised *first* through taxation of high incomes, of capital resources and of war profias; secondly, through borrowing of savings and non-productive capital. This is so because the national war effort in the fiscal sphere demands at the present time the mobilization of the actual and potential *capital resources* of the country and their employment in the battle of production and in the general war effort. It does not demand the curtailment of the purchasing power of the masses of new taxation. Not yet, at any rate. The masses are already contributing, through various forms of taxation, a considerable, if not major, portion of the government's income. And for the present, the masses can help additionally by systematic and widespread buying of defense stamps and bonds, which should be organized by the mass organizations of the people.

It is argued by some that the people's purchasing power has to be siphoned away into government income in order to combat the danger of inflation. This is nonsense. Under present conditions, the democratic and efficient way of combating inflationary tendencies that arise from a *genuine* shortage of commodities in the midst of increasing mass purchasing power is *rationing and price fixing*. This will also be helped by voluntary mass savings and investments in defense stamps and bonds. However, in many instances shortages are artificial, in certain industries the result of monopolistic practices as well as speculation and poor planning (where it isn't outright pro-Hitler sabotage). Such "shortages" should be handled by insuring increased production.

And in passing it might be observed that the attempt to curtail installment buying was totally needless. It has also proved already ineffective as a measure of curtailing the mass purchase of consumer durable goods. The latter aim could

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and can be served best by rationing and price regulation.

The vital importance of carrying through the right policies and methods for the mobilization of the national economy is further accentuated by the unprincipled and unscrupulous use made by the appeasement forces of every mistake of the government in this field, as in others. The pro-Hitler and appeasement forces, the spokesmen of the most rapacious and reactionary exploiters of the people, begin to pose as "defenders" of the masses, demagogically claiming the "protection" of the masses from government impositions. Their aim is obvious. It is to confuse and demoralize certain sections of our people in order to weaken the growing national unity for the war effort against Hitler. This game must be exposed mercilessly. And a great help toward that end will be the consistent application of a true *national policy* in everything that is being done for the war mobilization of the United States, including especially an effective rationing, price regulation and fiscal policy.

Combating Pro-Hitler Sabotage

Basic for the success of the national effort is the systematic exposure and struggle against the pro-Hitler forces and influences that are sabotaging the battle of production and national defense. The adoption of the Murray Plan and similar proposals from labor organizations will help greatly in this task.

It is widely known by now that such sabotage has taken and is still taking place. Appeasement and anti-national elements within Congress, within certain government departments and agencies, within certain corporations and monopolies have been seriously hampering and retarding the production and national defense program. Is it conceivable that the nation can solve successfully and speedily the battle of production if these pro-Hitler influences continue to operate unchecked? This is inconceivable. Such dangerous influences cannot be allowed to continue to interfere with or to retard in any way the defense machinery of the nation.

In this connection, several important problems have been raised. Does the struggle against pro-Hitler sabotage in production require that the people should, at this time, call for a general "trust-busting" campaign, for "war" against *all* monopolies as such? The answer is that the present situation does not call for such demands, though it does call for a curb of certain monopolistic practices which seriously impede or obstruct the national defense program. This does not mean to ignore the fact that capitalistic monopolies by their very nature are a brake upon production and that their "natural" retarding influences are especially dangerous in the present national emergency, when maximum production is the central need. No; these monopolistic practices and tendencies can be ignored only at the nation's peril.

Furthermore, it is also a well-known fact that the main breeding

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ground and chief source of support for every kind of pro-Hitler, pro-fascist and appeasement influence in the country are to be found within certain corporations and monopolies. And this is even more serious, considering the tremendous role which such corporations are playing in the process of production, in the national economy and in the politics of the country.

There is no question, therefore, but that the utmost vigilance is required to check and combat the retarding influences of the monopolies, as such, in the battle of production, and particularly to eliminate from influence in the national defense controls the pro-fascist elements that come from certain corporations and monopolies. Thus the question is not whether the struggle against the monopolies must continue; it is, in fact, going on. The question is in what *forms* and in what *ways* this struggle should be carried on in the present situation. And the guiding consideration to answering this question is the paramount interest of national defense in the war against Hitler Germany.

From this standpoint it will be seen that one of the most effective ways of checking and combating the "natural" retarding influences of the monopolies upon production is the way of complete war mobilization of the national economy. Further and more rapid development along this road is bound to prove an effective check upon these tendencies. But this is not all. The national effort also requires the elimination of pro-Hitler influences from American business establishments, and many things have already been initiated by the government toward that end. The line must be pursued further, to the complete severance, direct or indirect, of all American business contacts and relations with Hitlerite Germany. And, above all, the pro-Hitler and appeasement forces that are sabotaging production and national defense must be eliminated from all posts and influences in the defense controls and public life of the nation.

In other words, the present-day forms and ways of struggle against the monopolies must be determined not by a line of action against monopoly *in general*, but by a *concentrated* attack upon the most dangerous features of the monopolies and upon the most dangerous elements within the monopolies—dangerous to the war effort of the nation against Hitlerite Germany. Conditions may necessitate a further concretization and development of this line. But for the present, the foregoing measures can be expected to prove effective.

Similarly with another problem. Does the present situation call for a general campaign against all so-called "dollar-a-year men"? The answer would seem to be: No. Utmost vigilance in the matter is absolutely essential, since many of these people, particularly within O.P.M., have proven to be affected in various degree by "business as usual," by lack of sympathy with the nation's defense effort and, in some instances, they behaved as enemies of this effort. Such people cannot, of course, be allowed to in-

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fluence the country's defense controls. Therefore, the struggle must be directed not against "dollar-a-year men" in general but against those that are retarding and sabotaging the defense effort.

But to say this alone is not enough. There still remains the very important question of the relations between the workers and the technical and production management in the process of production itself. It is clear, without further argumentation, that the national battle of production requires the creation and development of harmonious and cooperative relations between them. One of the main problems here is to insure that labor's initiative, that its proposals for joint participation and responsibility with government and management for effecting and guiding maximum national defense production should receive the widest latitude and should be utilized to the fullest. And this problem can be solved by incorporating this principle into the basic defense policies of the nation and by applying it in the entire defense machinery from top to bottom. Labor can accelerate the establishment of harmonious and cooperative relations with the technical and production managements by continuing to display greater and ever greater initiative and creativeness in the battle of production, in increasing its output to the maximum in the shortest possible time, in pressing for and winning greater support for such policies as set forth in the Murray Plan and in strengthening labor's organizations and independent activities in promoting national defense and national unity.

Labor Will Fulfill Its Tasks

The key to labor's fulfillment of its tasks in the present national emergency, and in the battle of production in particular, is a clear understanding by the trade unions, by the widest masses that, first, the military defeat of Hitlerite Germany is dictated by the need of saving the nation from the fascist menace and that, second, to save the nation from this menace is the most immediate and vital objective and interest of the working class as a class. We must concentrate all efforts to help make the American working class, and all toilers, fully conscious of these truths. And everything should be done to strengthen and activize the trade union movement toward this end, especially to develop the widest unity of action of all sections of the labor movement, locally and on a national scale, for a united national defense effort, for a united struggle against Hitlerism abroad and at home. For this is the way to safeguard the rights and freedom of the nation and of the labor movement itself.

The working class is the backbone of the nation. The interests of the American workers, immediate as well as ultimate, embody and express the best interests of the whole of the American people. Moreover, the interests of the working class as an exploited class, whose historic mission is the ultimate liberation of society from all forms of oppression and exploitation, are fully in ac-

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cord with and serve the genuine interests of the nation. That is why —in this hour of national peril, when Hitler fascism threatens our national freedom and existence— the American working class is called upon to join forces with all true Americans in a united national front against the fascist enemy of our country, and to strengthen the anti-Hitler coalition on a world scale by developing maximum international solidarity and collaboration with the workers and peoples of all lands, especially with the working class and trade unions of the Soviet Union, England and China. That is why the central, immediate and all-inclusive task of the American workers as a class and of their Communist vanguard now is to help forge labor and national unity, to strengthen labor's organizations and activity, to mobilize and develop the national front for the defense of America and the destruction of Hitlerism, for safeguarding the national freedom and liberties of the American people and nation.

Consequently, the struggle for the military defeat of Hitlerite Germany, for the crushing of fascism and the triumph of democracy, is the central issue and main objective of the class struggle in the present period. The working class in its struggle against capitalist exploitation and reaction, against capitalism, for the socialist reorganization of society, for the establishment of socialist working class democracy, has always come forward as the most consistent and resolute champion of national freedom and independence. Socialism itself stands for the most complete and lasting freedom and independence of all nations and their fraternal collaboration. The working class is interested in and able to wage the most consistent and self-sacrificing struggle for the national freedom and independence of America. That is why at the present time, when Hitlerite Germany is threatening our nation with enslavement, the struggle for the destruction of this menace has become the chief immediate objective of the class struggle, its main content and purpose.

It is this purpose that dominates all other issues and problems of the class struggle. This does not mean that all other issues of the class struggle disappear. They do not because they cannot. But it does mean that all the other issues of the class struggle must be estimated and resolved in accordance with the needs of victory in the major fight, which is the military defeat of Hitler Germany, the destruction of fascism, the preservation of our national freedom and democratic liberties and institutions. This is how the class struggle continues, with a new content and in new forms.

An American national front against Hitler is made necessary by the most vital interests of our nation and people. A national front embracing all classes and groups willing and able to place the nation's interests above everything else, willing and able to *subordinate* everything else to the defense of the United States from the fascist threat of enslavement—that means

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that the national front is made necessary by the most vital interests of the American working class and its allies among all toiling people.

This does not ignore the fact that not all classes and groups belonging and moving to the national front are capable of an equally consistent and self-sacrificing struggle for the national interest. We know that the ruling bourgeois circles, motivated by contradictory interests, will display inconsistencies and hesitations in the national struggle, even while engaging in it together with the rest of the nation. We know furthermore, that a part of the bourgeoisie, its pro-Hitler circles, its reactionary and anti-national section and the chief internal enemy of the national unity of America, will continue to exercise much influence upon the rest of the bourgeoisie, creating among them tendencies of conciliation with appeasement and pro-Hitlerism. But we also know that the Hitler threat to the vital national interests of the United States is exercising a powerful objective influence upon the ruling bourgeois circles, moving them to the national front against Hitler.

And the American working class, together with its natural allies among all toilers, are capable of and will wage the most consistent struggle for the national interest—a struggle to the very end. These powers and forces give the main basis for the national front, with labor and the masses of the people constituting its backbone and driving force, with labor exercising an influential political role and working to mercilessly combat and isolate the pro-Hitler appeasement elements of the bourgeoisie and to resolutely oppose all tendencies to conciliate, to "appease the appeasers."

Therefore, today the greatest class task of American labor, including the Communists, now is to exert the utmost united effort, in closest collaboration with all other toiling groups, to help cement and lead an American national front and a national unity of all opponents of Hitler and Hitlerism, for the military destruction of fascist Germany. This is the main line and direction of the class struggle at the present time. This is also the main line and direction of the struggle in the battle of production.

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LABOR UNITY—THE DEMAND OF THE HOUR

THE coming conventions of the two great labor federations—C.I.O. and A. F. of L.—in themselves emphasize the division in the labor movement and inevitably focus attention on the problem of how to bring about *labor unity.* This problem, which in one form or another dominated the deliberations of every A. F. of L. and C.I.O. convention since the latter's emergence as an independent organization, will in the present situation loom even larger and will in fact present itself as a burning problem demanding immediate solution.

The question of *labor unity,* always a most important one, assumes new proportions in the face of the new dangers facing the American people and perforce the working class. The task of mobilizing all our human and material resources in common struggle with the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all peoples enslaved or threatened by Hitlerism, for the defeat of the common enemy, Nazi Germany, for the complete destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism, demands the unity of the American people. And such national unity is impossible without the active and united support of the working class. The working class, which has most to lose from the victory of Nazism, is the most reliable and consistent opponent, the best fighter against fascism. It must be the backbone of the *national front against Hitlerism.*

These two gatherings of labor, representing between them more than 10,000,000 organized workers from almost all of the important and decisive industries, show the stature that organized labor has attained, the role that it now occupies in the life of the nation, and therefore also the responsibility which labor must assume in these critical days. Labor is no longer an unorganized mass, inarticulate and helpless. It is the most powerful force in the nation, growing ever more conscious of its role and acting ever more as an independent force not only in its own interest, but also in the interests of the whole of the American people.

It is most fortunate not only for the working class, but for the whole people, for our country, that labor has attained this position of strength and power, this growing consciousness of its role. The growth of the trade union movement from a mere 2,000,000 some eight years ago to the present more than 10,000,000 (excluding the independent railroad unions), and embracing the workers in the most trustified basic industries, is one of the greatest contributions to national defense, and one of the most important guarantees against the

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enemies of our country both from without and within. This strength of organized labor can and will rally the whole of the working class, and with it all the common people in defense of our liberties, our democratic institutions, our achievements, our homeland. It will never compromise with, nor surrender to Hitler. Equally will it oppose and resist all efforts of the pro-Hitlerites and appeasers, the Hoovers, Lindberghs, Wheelers, Hearsts, Coughlins and Norman Thomases, to betray our national interests to Hitler. These spokesmen of the most reactionary and greedy sections of monopoly capital, the American Quislings, Lavals and Darlans, will never win the support of the American working class for their treacherous policies.

Lewis' desertion from the cause of anti-fascism to that of the appeasers, the Hoovers, Landons and Lowdens, has not even made a dent in the unanimity of labor in its hatred of and opposition to Hitlerism and all those who would betray the United States by appeasing Hitler, by compromising with Hitler. Since the Nazi invasion of the U.S.S.R. there have been numerous expressions of organized labor, all of which indicate the growing concern of the working class over the menace of Hitlerism to the United States, support of the Administration's policy of aid to all countries fighting Hitler, including the Soviet Union. These expressions have come equally from the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. They show that Lewis will find little support for his announced policies in the ranks of the working class.

The A. F. of L., through the Executive Council at its recent meeting in Chicago, as well as through the personal statements of President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany, has gone on record in support of the Administration's foreign policy and explicitly in support of aid to the Soviet Union. A similar stand was taken by every A. F. of L. national union convention and by the conventions of the state federations that have taken place in the last few weeks. These include the American Federation of Teachers, the Painters and Decorators International Union, the Amalgamated Street Railwaymen, the state organizations of Ohio, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Vermont and the largest state organization, that of New York, whose resolution on foreign policy and aid to the U.S. S.R. is a model that may well be followed by other labor organizations. Such action was also taken by a large number of central labor unions, and by local unions in numerous industries and crafts, such as the machinists, bakers, butchers, garment workers, printers, teamsters, and the hotel and restaurant workers in nearly every principal city of the nation.

In the C.I.O. and in the A. F. of L. every national union, every state organization that has met in convention during this period, went on record in support of the Administration's policy and in support of the Soviet Union either by unanimous vote or, as in the case of the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, by an overwhelming majority. These conventions include the powerful United Automobile

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Workers, the National Maritime Union, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and the previously mentioned U.E.R.M.W. as well as the state C.I.O. organizations in Minnesota, Massachusetts, Delaware, Iowa and Nebraska. Similar action was taken by almost every C.I.O. City Industrial Council, including the C.I.O. Councils in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, Newark and Baltimore. Many unions, through their officials or through their executive board, have taken similar action. These unions include, among others, the fur and leather workers, lumber workers, boatmen, federal workers, fishermen, office and professional workers, communication workers' unions. Where no national action was taken the local unions in large numbers and in many cases the district council in the various industries have acted.

It is therefore obvious that insofar as the struggle against Hitlerism is concerned, the labor movement, whether organized into the C.I.O. or the A. F. of L. (and we can add the Railroad Brotherhoods) stands united, irrespective of differences there may exist between these organizations on other issues. Organized labor stands behind the policy of all-out aid to the peoples fighting Hitler, including the Soviet Union. Organized labor and with it the entire working class will support every measure necessary to insure the military defeat of Nazi Germany, the complete and final destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism. Neither the appeasers directly nor their agents in the ranks of labor will be able to sway labor from this course. The working class, as a class, is united in its opposition to fascism. It is the most reliable, the most consistent and strongest force in our country, pledged and determined to protect and defend our freedom, our independence, our democratic heritage and institutions.

* * *

At this point the question may be asked: Since organized labor, despite its division into two separate federations, has made so much progress in the organization of the unorganized, has been able to defend and improve the living standards of the workers, and *stands united in the fight against Hitlerism,* why then do we say that the question of labor unity is today more pressing than before?

In the first place, labor is always stronger when united, irrespective of the main task that faces labor and the American people today, the struggle for the defeat of Nazi Germany. The goal is always ever greater unity. Up until about 1933 the A. F. of L. had a membership of a little over 2,000,000, limited for the most part to skilled craftsmen in the building trades, the printing trades, the workers in the amusement and distributive industries. Even the fairly well organized miners and garment workers had suffered a serious decline. The workers in the highly trustified and basic industries, such as steel, automobile, electrical manufacturing, machine building, etc., were almost completely unorganized. The A. F. of L. leadership, because of its in-

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sistence on outworn policies, could not and would not organize the unorganized. Under these conditions the formation of the C.I.O., the struggle that was carried on to organize the unorganized, was really a step in the direction of greater unity of the working class, a step in overcoming the *big disunity* which prevented the mass of the workers from being organized into the trade union movement.

Proof of the fact that the C.I.O. organization was a step toward greater unity can be seen today, five years later. The C.I.O. has grown to more than 5,000,000 members and has helped organize the workers in almost all the important industries, the steel and auto workers constituting a symbol of this success, with the victory of the workers in the Ford plant marking the end of the open-shop domination in American industry. At the same time the A. F. of L. unions, stimulated by the C.I.O. and as a result of the promotion of unionism among the workers as a whole, has also grown to some 5,000,000. Today, therefore, instead of 2,000,000 workers organized in the A. F. of L., there are more than 10,000,000 organized in both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.

But this does not mean that this progress was achieved in the most ideal form, or that labor would accept as permanent its division into two separate labor federations. To be sure, in the face of the attitude of the A. F. of L. Council at that time, the formation and building of the C.I.O. were correct in the interests of unity, bringing great successes to the entire labor movement. But had the A. F. of L. leadership been farsighted and had it adopted the very policies and measures that brought about the organization of the workers through the C.I.O., a united A. F. of L. under such conditions would have been able to achieve even greater successes, we might have had more workers organized than in both the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. today and in an even shorter time. The influence of such a united A. F. of L. in the life of the nation in the course of the last few years would have been much greater than it has been and is today. Who knows but that many things might not be different and more favorable to the working class had there been an even stronger and unified trade union movement? Labor may have been able to exert greater influence in shaping both domestic and foreign policy. It might today have been stronger in Congress, in relation to the power of monopoly capital in general, and our country may have been today in a much more favorable position in foreign affairs. Many steps both in this country and in others that led to strengthening of Hitler and Hitlerism might well have been prevented.

It can also be stated here that the continued division in the ranks of labor, the even infrequent strikes resulting from jurisdictional disputes, the struggle between C.I.O. and A. F. of F. unions in Labor Board elections, kept considerable sections of the working class away from both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., and furthermore made it possible for the reactionary and open-shop forces in the country to

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keep large sections of farmers and other middle-class groups from greater cooperation with labor, a cooperation that is essential and beneficial to both.

It is for these reasons that a united labor movement is more desirable, and is what we must strive to achieve. That is why from the very time of the formation of the C.I.O. the question of labor unity has occupied the attention of every gathering of labor. To be sure, there continued to be differences as to how labor unity can be achieved, but few dared challenge the necessity for labor unity. Some thought that the A. F. of L. would finally absorb the C.I.O. unions, and that most of the C.I.O. unions would disintegrate. Some thought that the sweep of the C.I.O. would result in the disintegration of the A. F. of L. and the incorporation of its remnants into the C.I.O. Others in both C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. believed that unity could be achieved only on the basis of the bringing together of the two organizations through democratic processes and in the spirit of mutual trust and equality. But regardless of what perspective was held, all workers hoped and dreamed of the final unification of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods into one powerful organization of labor. If at any moment this goal was lost sight of, the constant threats of the employers and the reactionary forces in Congress and in the various state legislatures served to remind all workers that they can best defend their gains, and make further progress, by uniting their forces.

But if labor unity was always a pressing issue, always in the interests of labor and the whole of the common people, today, in the face of the crisis our nation is facing, labor unity is an absolute necessity. The working class must not limit itself merely to agreeing to and following policies worked out by others. The working class knows that it must throw its full strength into the struggle for the defeat of Hitlerism. It therefore wants a voice in the formulation of policies and their execution. It cannot make its role fully felt unless it is able to act unitedly.

The organized labor movement has the task of mobilizing and activizing the tens of millions of the working people for this great crusade against the menace of Hitlerism. It cannot achieve such a full mobilization without being united. Labor as a whole has the task of inspiring and helping to unite the whole of the American people behind policies that will insure the victory of the forces of democracy over the forces of barbarism. It cannot most effectively inspire and unite the rest of the American people so long as it itself remains divided.

Labor has the task of pressing forward for the maximum effort in the struggle against Hitlerism, against all appeasement influences within the Administration, coming from powerful capitalist groups, who though going along with the Administration's policy, are however always looking for "compromises," always fearful that, with the defeat of Hitler Germany, the democratic forces of the world will

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shape themselves not fully to their liking.

Labor cannot exert the maximum influence on the Administration policies unless it is united. The working class, the most reliable and strongest force in the struggle against fascism at home and abroad, has the task of mobilizing the working class and the whole people in struggle against the pro-Hitlerites, the appeasers, the Lindberghs, Wheelers, Coughlins, Hearsts, etc.. It can most effectively achieve this task by a united effort.

The working class has the difficult and complicated task of at one and the same time assuring the maximum production of war material and protecting the workers' living standards, its right of organization and civil liberties. It must fight to bring forth the maximum mobilization of all our human and material resources in the struggle against Nazi Germany, to aid all those nations fighting Hitler, and at the same time prevent the reactionary sections of capital from trying to use the present crisis for the purpose of increasing their profits, strengthening their hold on the life of the country and weakening the organizations of labor. It must prevent every attempt of the reactionaries to use the present situation in order to rob labor of the protective legislation that it has won, and to put over reactionary legislation designed to weaken labor and the people. All this demands that labor be united.

We have already mentioned the fact that the division of the organized labor movement into the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., the struggles between the two in labor board elections, the occurrence of jurisdictional strikes, have helped to make it more difficult to organize additional millions into the unions and have enabled the reactionaries to alienate certain sections of the farmers and middle classes generally from labor. Fortunately, these jurisdictional strikes have been limited. They never embraced large sections of the workers. But such jurisdictional struggles today, attempts of either the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. to break away organized workers from each other, would not only be costly to labor, but would be most tragic. And it cannot be denied that there are such dangers. If it is necessary in general today to try to avoid strikes, especially in defense industries, to insure maximum production in the war industries, to try to adjust inevitable disputes with employers through negotiations and mediation, then certainly there can be no excuse for jurisdictional strikes, for attempts of either of the two labor federations to try to "strengthen" itself at the expense of the other. In reality such efforts would only result in weakening all organized labor, the whole working class, and would play into the hands of the Hitlerites and appeasers.

It can be taken for granted that Lewis and whatever followers he may be able to rally in the C.I.O., because of their stand on foreign policy, their denial of the threat of Nazi Germany to the U.S., will, to say the least, not go out of their way to prevent further disunity, and will promote jurisdictional strife if they think this will

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strengthen their position and serve their narrow group interests. There is already some evidence of this. It can be equally assumed that certain of the reactionary forces within the A. F. of L., those who like Lewis are allied with the Hoovers and Wheelers, will do their utmost to push A. F. of L. unions in the same direction. So long as the present division between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. exists, they will have a fertile field for their maneuvers. They will adopt "radical" phrases, they will try to exploit every just grievance of the workers for the purpose of preventing the workers from uniting their forces for the national effort. Starting from the false premise that the war against Nazi Germany is not our concern, that the U.S. is not threatened by Hitler, that the main enemy is not Hitler and the appeasers in this country but the Roosevelt Administration and its supporters, these elements in both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. will use every means possible to try to disorientate the workers, to play on old differences, old prejudices and sharpen up all real differences, all for the purpose of preventing labor unity and national unity for the struggle against Hitlerism.

It can therefore be said that a failure to realize the need for labor unity or to take steps to achieve it is basically a failure to grasp fully the present situation, the menace of Nazi Germany to the freedom and independence of the American people, to the national security of the United States. On the other hand, all those who do recognize the present critical situation and draw all the conclusions from it, cannot but approach *labor unity* in a new way, with new methods, and with the object of its realization *immediately*. If we are justified in calling upon the whole of the American people to make every sacrifice to achieve national unity in order to meet and defeat the menace of Hitlerism, is it possible for the working class, in the face of this danger, a danger to all free trade unions, to all democratic institutions, to fail to unite its ranks?

Both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. conventions, assembling in the next weeks, will be conscious of the critical days in which they are meeting and of their responsibility to their membership and to the whole working class, as well as to the nation as a whole. If the conventions of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. bodies, as for example the New York State Federation of the A. F. of L. and the U.A.W.A. and U.E.R.M.W. of the C.I.O., are a forecast of what is to take place at the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. national conventions, there should be very few real and important differences in the actions of the two great labor federations. *This in itself provides the basis for unity and shows that unity is possible.*

In addition to this basic agreement on program which shows the basis for unity, it must be added that, fortunately, the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. organizations conflict in jurisdiction in very few cases. The C.I.O. unions have almost undisputed leadership in the steel, auto, textile, mining, rubber, men's garment and most of the other large-scale industries as well as among

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the majority of the white-collar groups. The A. F. of L. has the leadership in the building trades, the teamsters, the ladies' garment workers, the amusement and catering industries, among others. Only in a few cases, as in machine building and marine, are there parallel mass unions. But even here adjustments and agreements are not hard to reach.

It would of course be presumptuous on our part to try to tell the two great labor organizations how they can achieve *labor unity*. But we consider it our duty to our own membership, to our followers among the workers and the American people, and to the American people generally, to tell them of our position on this question which is of such great concern to all of us. We feel certain that the leaders of the two great organizations will find the way to achieve this goal, once the tasks are recognized and the basic agreement on policy in the present situation is reached. We also feel that the local unions and the membership generally of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. should make their opinions known to their respective leaders. This is how the opponents of unity will be exposed as a small minority acting against the interests of their membership.

But it can be added that while full and complete merging of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. may take time and may present many difficult problems, the minimum that can be expected from the two coming conventions is: First, that no steps shall be allowed by any group that will tend to sharpen the conflict between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. or any of their affiliates; and secondly, that a Joint Committee of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. leaders is set up whose duty it will be to explore the possibilities for a full merger. In the meantime a solid front should be presented to the country on all questions arising from the present emergency, while all jurisdictional struggles should be kept from developing.

The Communist Party, always fighting in the interests of the unity of labor, will contribute all its strength in this crucial moment toward the realization of the goal of *labor unity*. The Communists in the trade unions, bound by no decisions of our Party, not members of any fractions or factions, bound only by their loyalty to their class and the American people, their knowledge of the history of their country and of the international labor movement, by the principles of our movement which summarize the experiences and goal of the labor movement, will stand as loyal and disciplined members of their union in the forefront of the fight for the unity of labor. And they will allow no differences to stand in the way of this unity of labor, which must embrace all workers irrespective of race, creed, color, or *political opinion and affiliation*. The labor movement can further strengthen itself and establish even firmer unity by repelling all attempts of the enemies of labor to smuggle disunity into labor's ranks through the weapon of red-baiting.

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LENIN ON THE "JUNIUS" PAMPHLET

Introductory Remarks by Robert Minor

THE entire world, every nation without exception, is embraced in a political struggle of an extensiveness never equaled in all of time. The struggle has reached, in practically all of the world already —and inevitably will reach in the very last square mile of the remotest countries—that degree of ferocious intensity in which the solutions are made by superior physical strength, *i.e.*, by military combat.

The fate of every nation and every people is decisively involved, and will be determined by the outcome of this universal military combat. If there be nations that are not belligerents their fates will be decided by those nations which are belligerents—*i.e.*, by those belligerents that are able to apply the strongest military force to the solution. If nations are hesitant and not quite fully active in the struggle, through illusions to the effect that they are not participants, such nations, to the extent of their hesitancy and half-heartedness, endanger their own survival.

A decisive fact is the *singleness* of the struggle. Those who do not understand this will understand nothing of the struggle. From Tierra del Fuego to Iceland, from the Congo to Australia, Thailand, Chicago, in the valley of the Yangtse Kiang, from Franz Josef Land to the Galapagos Islands—every corner of land and the life of every man, woman and child are being disposed of—the fate of New York, California and Uruguay is being determined in a worldwide struggle, the present main front of which is with the flame-throwers and dive-bombers and tanks on the Dniester and at Perekop and Leningrad.

* * *

Within each nation an internal political struggle is determining the course of the nation as to whether it defends itself or does not defend itself. The internal political struggle to determine the foreign policy of each nation, therefore, becomes the question of survival or non-survival of the particular nation and the security of nations holding interests in common with it.

* * *

Never before in the history of mankind has it been so important as now for the masses of the people and their leaders to understand and to make practical use of those scientific political principles which can be decisively employed in order to determine what course the masses shall follow in this colossal political struggle. Any who lose their way,

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any who are unable to keep their orientation firmly fixed in effective political principle, must be helpless pawns of their enemies. Even masses of men can become, for a dangerous political moment if only temporarily, helpless pawns of their enemies.

There is a widely cultivated opinion to the effect that there are no political principles which can be of service to the working class in guiding its course. But such an idea is only a cover for a policy within the working class of being guided politically by the bourgeoisie.

* * *

The modern movement of the working class, which breaks away from a blind following of the bourgeoisie, has at its command the tremendous instrument of political principle. The modern labor movement, the section of the working class which is conscious of its position in society and its historic role, becomes powerful in proportion as it masters the scientific principles, the "laws of motion" of society, that are the discovery and gift to civilization of the great Communist leaders of the past and present century.

Those elements in the working class that are helpless pawns, moved backward and forward by the political leaders of other classes, are not without a certain illusion to the effect that they are guiding themselves, and even to the effect that they are guiding themselves by principle — more than that, that they are guided by a consistent principle. But the principle turns out to be no more than a dogma, absorbed from another class.

* * *

Historically the modern labor movement is the nemesis of war-makers, just as it is the nemesis of the bourgeois system, of which war is an inseparable part. The modern labor movement, insofar as it grasps the perspective of modern scientific socialism, becomes the first herald of a system of society which can do without war—the system of socialism which, in its perfected form, is communism. The modern labor movement therefore becomes the first powerful and consistent opponent of the wars that are generated by, and an indispensable part of, the capitalist system.

This opposition to war on the part of the modern labor movement, when reflected among the masses through a haze of the confusion of the petty bourgeoisie, tends to become a dogma—an opposition to all war in general.

Persons who do not understand anything of Marxian principle have "wished upon" the Communist Party a dogmatic "principle" of opposition to all war "in general." They have wished upon us a dogmatic idea that support of a war in which a capitalist nation is engaged is under all circumstances a violation of a "principle" of the Communist Party.

Ignorance of the history and the theoretical basis of our movement, among even honest sympathizers or members of our Party itself, often causes a great deal of confusion and stumbling at a time when the entire

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reactionary press is thundering at the Communist Party, as it is now, demanding that we be "true to the principle of Communism" which the Hearsts and the Howards, the Pattersons and McCormicks and Norman Thomases and Coughlins say is a "principle" in opposition to the war of the United States in its defense against the Hitler conquest of the world. It is necessary at all times to combat such ignorance, to educate the advanced sections of the working class thoroughly and persistently and constantly in the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism which, as they master them, make them immune to such imposture and make them powerful to follow an effective course of struggle. But it becomes a hundred times more imperative now that all the poison of middle class adulteration be removed from the minds of the advanced sections of the American people. We refer to the adulteration of the point of view of the revolutionary working class by admixtures of *pacifism* and opposition to war *"in general"* which are the products of the hesitancy, the political uncertainty that are generated by the economic insecurity of the petty-bourgeois class.

Pacifism has never been the view of the working class.

Those who adhere to the principles of the modern Communist movement are not and never have been opposed to all wars. The fact that the final success of the modern labor movement will eliminate war from human society is not to be confused with the fact that in this epoch the political struggle between states inevitably reaches the tremendous intensity at which military instruments are employed. Those who cease to struggle at the moment when the struggle reaches the degree of intensity in which military instruments are employed on a mass scale are worse than worthless in the struggle. They are no more than germs of paralysis in the ranks of democracy. Those who understand the principles by which the modern labor movement is guided know that any dogmatic position in opposition to all war, to "war in general," can only remove all adherents of such a dogma from all effectiveness in the politcal struggle at the moment when it reaches its decisive intensity.

* * *

In August, 1916, the greatest leader of the modern labor movement, the founder and leader of the Russian Communist Party, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, wrote an article which stands out now as a most brilliant expression of the point of view of scientific Marxism on the question which is *today* the most urgent before the working class and the whole world. It is, of course, the question of orientation in respect to a war of the type of the present war. Lenin wrote the article for the one all-decisive purpose of influencing the workers' parties and the labor movement to a relentless opposition to the war of 1914-18. Therefore, in this article, Lenin's effort was quite naturally concentrated overwhelmingly to the one purpose of showing the character of that war (1914-18).

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The Communist leader Rosa Luxemburg had written and published in Germany under the pen-name of "Junius" a pamphlet directed against the supporters of the war in the German Social-Democratic Party. Lenin praised the pamphlet for its character as one directed against support by the workers of any country of either side of that conflict of 1914-18, which he declared was imperialist equally on both sides.

But, under the changed conditions of today, it is necessary to show that even while sharply condemning all support on either side of that war—with a vigor and clarity unequaled by any others in the world—Lenin raised a voice of warning against the theoretical error of Rosa Luxemburg that was to be found in her dogmatic rejection of the possibility under modern conditions of a war of a *different* character which could and should be supported by the working class.

* * *

Millions of people in many lands have come to see more or less clearly that the rise of the Hitler power over Europe and as a menace to the world is a phenomenon of a peculiar character. They see more or less instinctively that it is a sort of reversal of the progression of history, a throwback to the more crude and "uncivilized" brutalities of the dark ages. A cultivated anti-Semitic superstition is for the first time since the middle ages raised to a pretended "science" to be spread by the truly most scientific technique of the radio, the flame-thrower, the dive-bomber and the super-tank. The reversion to the principle of an autocratic power as ruthless as that of Ghengis Khan in command of panzer divisions and dive bombers and in control of the resources of seventeen modern nations, all but one of the classic sites of world culture—is this not a "turning of history backward by several generations"?

Before the eyes of two thousand million people, history makes one of its "gigantic strides backward." A Ghengis Khan with a *Flammenwerfer* has burned his way through to the English Channel and the Dnieper on the road to the conquest of all lands, which cannot exclude this country. An anachronism? A bloodthirsty mass-murderer from the Middle Ages, speaking the half-witted jargon of 13th century anti-Semitism but commanding a 20th century mechanized army equipped with the highest scientific technique —killing and burning his way to control of the lives of all men and the civilizations of all nations.

"Surely there is some mistake!" "Our eyes must deceive us." "Such things cannot be." "How is it there is nothing of this in the books?" "Do not all the best tracts and the 'Socialist' dogmas and liberal doctrines of the Rev. Thomas—do not they all say alike that *History moves forward?*" "Is it not possible that Mr. Trotsky was right in saying that what Mr. Hitler is doing is to bring about the 'national unification' of Germany, in saying that 'Bismarck only half fulfilled this task, leaving almost intact the entire feudal and

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particularist rubbish', and failed as well to centralize Germany?" "If, as our latest books tell us, history moves only forward, then is it not possible that Trotsky spoke the truth in saying 'Both these tasks fell to Hitler. The leader of fascism came forward, in his own fashion, as the continuator of Bismarck . . .'"

Such is the product of political provocateurs taking advantage of every unclarity. A hundred thousand Hamlets among the official circles of leadership of the labor movement have stood weighing the question of their own hesitancy during the three months since the Ghengis Khan with the *Flammenwerfer* declared war against the United States through the pseudonym of war against the Soviet Union and began burning and slaughtering his way toward the Dnieper and the Don.

But history is not a "one-way street." The literature that says that it is, is the liberal bourgeois literature, most of which serves also as "Socialist" literature on the shelves of the reverends and lawyers who have in their hands the guidance of the education of a large part of the trade union movement.

The literature of Marxism is replete with understanding of such a phenomenon as we see (though on a colossal scale that shatters all precedent) in the turning of history backward, away from civilization and into the crude brutalities of the Dark Ages by German fascism. We Americans first of all ought to be able to understand this—we who saw in our country only eighty years ago an effort to turn history backward through a slave-owners' insurrection aimed at the destruction of the most advanced and democratic state in the world and the reversion to a barbarous system of slavery—the full nature of which hideous phenomenon of backward movement of history was described by Marx and Engels.

But in this article of Lenin's, written just 25 years ago, is a still more impressive manifestation of the fact that the scientific method of our Communist movement is fully equipped to deal with such a phenomenon as now threatens death to all freedom of all nations.

For in this article Lenin, with startling accuracy, sketched the possibilities and even foretold as probable a great national war in Europe in connection with the rise of a dictator-conqueror of the Napoleon type—provided that certain conditions were to come about. The reader will see what the conditions were, as forecast by Lenin. Among them are: If the war of 1914-18 were to be concluded in such a way that "the proletariat of Europe proved to be powerless for some twenty years"; and if that war were to result in "victories of the type of Napoleon's and the enslavement of a number of vital national states"; if "extra-European imperialism" held out for twenty years; and if there should come (he was speaking in 1916) a victorious revolution in Russia. If these conditions were to come about, said Lenin, a "great national war"—*i.e.*, a just war in defense of national independence, would be possible.

The occurrence of the first three of these conditions "would be a de-

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velopment of Europe *backward* by some decades," said Lenin.

"This means that Europe would be thrown back for several decades. This is improbable. But it is *not* impossible, for to picture world history as advancing smoothly and steadily without sometimes taking gigantic strides backward is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong."

It should be noted that Lenin states this carefully as a question of scientific principle: that "gigantic strides backward" do occur in history and are in accord with the laws of motion of society. At an earlier time, during the World War, he referred to the matter, saying: "We are dealing here with large historic epochs; there are and there will be, in every age, individual, partial, backward and forward movements . . ." (*The Imperialist War*). Readers will observe that in his article here reproduced, in which his one purpose was to call for the workers of the world to oppose the war of 1914, saying that a progressive character could not be found in either side, that "Progress . . . is possible only towards *socialist* society, only towards the *socialist revolution*"—Lenin was unwilling to make even such a statement without adding: "—*if we leave out the possibility of temporary steps backward.*"

The "temporary step backward" has eventuated. It is indeed a "gigantic stride backward." By the Hitler war, Europe and the whole world are "thrown back for several decades," and against this hideous reaction, "wars of national liberation" have become inevitable on the part of all nations of the world and all states capable of defending their national independence.

The point here is that the Marxian leaders were able not only to fix the character of the imperialist war of 1914-18 and effectively to struggle against it, but also to determine what conditions would lead to a different kind of war two decades later, and to describe accurately 25 years ago the main conditions under which we are fighting now in a war which they then said would justifiedly be supported by the workers and peoples of the world and by the revolutionary party of the working class.

* * *

In making historic parallels there is always the danger that the analogy will be made too complete, in mechanical reproduction of a previous historic epoch, whereas previous epochs can never be reproduced; and the reproduction of a past epoch can only be partial and fragmentary, while a new epoch is indeed new. A warning therefore is necessary against a possible overlooking of some essential characteristic of our present problem through an assumption that everything now is just as it was in the period of the great wars of national liberation of the 1850's, 1860's and up to 1871. Lenin referred in an earlier article to a characteristic of the past epoch which he described as "the dependence of the masses upon the bourgeoisie." (Lenin: *The Imperialist War*, p. 123.) It is obvious that

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the relative maturity of the modern trade union movement renders such a description obsolete for the present period and particularly for the present national liberation struggles of all countries against Nazi enslavement. To imagine, for instance, that the working class of the United States, where the present trade unions have ten million members and have largely acquired the magnificent modern structure of industrial unions in nearly all of the decisive industries, need only play a passive role in the struggle for national defense against Hitler aggression, in the struggle of the nations of the world for the annihilation of Hitlerism, would be to commit the worst opportunist folly and to condemn the national defense to impotence and ruin. Under the modern conditions in which the present worldwide war of national defense occurs, tremendous duties fall upon the organized labor movement, and these duties include a united initiative on the part of organized labor greater than any that has ever been attained heretofore.

With the achievement of this perspective it immediately becomes clear that all those persons who are now arguing for lessening of the role of the trade unions, a weakening of their strength on the ground of sacrifices for the national defense, are offering a program of ruin. Under modern conditions and particularly the conditions of this war there can be no successful defense of the national existence and independence of the nation without a powerful organized labor movement as a decisive factor in the national front. The defense of the economic interests and civil rights of the working people is an inevitable part of such a role of the trade unions in national defense. The interests of the workers are in true accord with the national interest of our country. All of the immediate and partial interests of the workers are inseparable from, and can be considered only in relation to, the supreme need of the defense of the nation against Nazi enslavement through the military destruction of the German Nazi state. For this very reason the attempt of certain men in the labor movement to separate the domestic interests of the workers from the war issues, and to assign to the appeaser John L. Lewis a role in the defense of the domestic issues, is a menace to every interest of the workers. To associate oneself with the so-called America First group of enemies of the national interest is to make war against every interest of every trade unionist in America.

The reader, therefore, in fully seeing the extreme gravity of the crisis to the whole world that is created by the Nazi advance in Soviet Russia, and understanding the full and unqualified support that our movement, our theories and our whole working class culture give to the support of this war against Hitler, will understand the tremendous part that every American worker and every American trade union must play in this life and death struggle. He must understand the full consistency of our course in this fight in which the first republic, the first democracy

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of the modern world, joins hands with the latest republic, the latest democracy, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the heroic British people in order that "government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

THE PAMPHLET BY JUNIUS*

BY V. I. LENIN

AT LAST there has appeared in Germany, illegally, without any adaptation to the despicable *Junker* censorship, a Social-Democratic pamphlet dealing with questions of the war! The author, who evidently belongs to the "Left-radical" wing of the Party, signs himself Junius** (which in Latin means junior) and gave his pamphlet the title: *The Crisis of Social-Democracy*. . . .

To the Russian reader who is familiar with the Social-Democratic literature published abroad in Russian in 1914-16, Junius' pamphlet offers nothing new in principle. But . . . it becomes clear that Junius' arguments are very incomplete and that he commits two errors. . . . On the whole, Junius' pamphlet is a splendid Marxian work, and in all probability its defects are, to a certain extent, accidental. . . .

Of Junius' erroneous postulates, the first is contained in the *International* group's thesis No. 5: ". . . In the epoch (era) of this unbridled imperialism, there can be no more national wars. National interests serve only as an instrument of deception, to deliver the masses of the toiling people into the service of their mortal enemy, imperialism. . . ." This postulate is the end of thesis No. 5, the first part of which is devoted to the description of the *present* war as an imperialist war. The repudiation of national wars in general may either be an oversight or a fortuitous over-emphasis of the perfectly correct idea that the *present* war is an imperialist war and not a national war. But as the opposite may be true, as various Social-Democrats mistakenly repudiate *all* national wars because the *present* war is falsely represented to be a national war, we are obliged to deal with this mistake.

Junius is quite right in emphasizing the decisive influence of the "imperialist background" of the *present* war, when he says that behind Serbia there is Russia, "behind Serbian nationalism there is Russian imperialism"; that even if a country like Holland took part in the present war, she *too* would be waging an imperialist war, because,

* The full text of this article, of which the above is an abridgement, appears in Volume XIX of the *Collected Works* of V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, N. Y.

** The pen name Rosa Luxemburg used for this pamphlet.—*Ed.*

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firstly, Holland would be defending her colonies, and, secondly, she would be an ally of one of the *imperialist* coalitions. This is indisputable in relation to the *present war*. And when Junius lays particular emphasis on what to him is the most important point: the struggle against the "phantom of national war, which at present dominates Social-Democratic policy" (p. 81, Junius' pamphlet), we cannot but agree that his reasoning is correct and quite appropriate.

But it would be a mistake to exaggerate this truth; to depart from the Marxian rule to be concrete; to apply the appraisal of the present war to all wars that are possible under imperialism; to lose sight of the national movements *against* imperialism. The only argument that can be used in defense of the thesis "there can be no more national wars" is that the world has been divided up among a handful of "Great" imperialist powers, and, therefore, every war, even if it starts as a national war, is *transformed* into an imperialist war and affects the interests of one of the imperialist Powers or coalitions (p. 81 of Junius' pamphlet).

The fallacy of this argument is obvious. Of course, the fundamental proposition of Marxian dialectics is that all boundaries in nature and society are conventional and mobile, that there is *not a single* phenomenon which cannot under certain conditions be transformed into its opposite. A national war can be transformed into an imperialist war, and *vice versa*. For example, the wars of the Great French Revolution started as national wars and were such. They were revolutionary wars because they were waged in defense of the Great Revolution against a coalition of counter-revolutionary monarchies. But after Napoleon had created the French Empire by subjugating a number of large, virile, long established national states of Europe, the French national wars became imperialist wars, which *in their turn* engendered wars for national liberation *against* Napoleon's imperialism.

Only a sophist would deny that there is a difference between imperialist war and national war on the grounds that one *can* be transformed into the other. More than once, even in the history of Greek philosophy, dialectics has served as a bridge to sophistry. We, however, remain dialecticians and combat sophistry, not by a sweeping denial of the possibility of transformation in general, but by concretely analyzing a *given* phenomenon in the circumstances that surround it and in its development.

It is highly improbable that this imperialist war of 1914-16 will be transformed into a national war, because the class that represents *progress* is the proletariat, which, objectively, is striving to transform this war into civil war against the bourgeoisie; and also because the strength of both coalitions is almost equally balanced, while international finance capital has everywhere created a reactionary bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that such a transformation is *impossible: if* the *European* proletariat were to remain impotent for

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another twenty years; *if* the present war were to end in victories similar to those achieved by Napoleon, in the subjugation of a number of virile national states; *if* imperialism outside of Europe (primarily American and Japanese) were to remain in power for another twenty years without a transition to socialism, say, as a result of a Japanese-American war, then a great national war in Europe would be possible. This means that Europe would be thrown *back* for several decades. This is improbable. But it is *not* impossible, for to picture world history as advancing smoothly and steadily without sometimes taking gigantic strides backward is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong.

Further. National wars waged by colonial and semi-colonial countries are not only possible but *inevitable* in the epoch of imperialism. The colonies and semi-colonies (China, Turkey, Persia) have a population of nearly one billion, *i.e., more than half* the population of the earth. In these countries the movements for national liberation are either very strong already or are growing and maturing. Every war is a continuation of politics by other means. The national liberation politics of the colonies will *inevitably* be continued by national wars of the colonies *against* imperialism. Such wars *may* lead to an imperialist war between the present "Great" imperialist Powers or they may not; that depends on many circumstances.

For example: England and France were engaged in a seven years' war for colonies, *i.e.*, they waged an imperialist war (which is as possible on the basis of slavery, or of primitive capitalism, as on the basis of highly developed modern capitalism). France was defeated and lost part of her colonies. Several years later the North American States started a war for national liberation against England alone. Out of enmity toward England, *i.e.*, in conformity with their own imperialist interests, France and Spain, which still held parts of what are now the United States, concluded friendly treaties with the states that had risen against England. The French forces together with the American defeated the English. Here we have a war for national liberation in which imperialist rivalry is a contributory element of no great importance, which is the opposite of what we have in the war of 1914-16 (in which the national element in the Austro-Serbian war is of no great importance compared with the all-determining imperialist rivalry). This shows how absurd it would be to employ the term imperialism in a stereotyped fashion by deducing from it that national wars are "impossible." A war for national liberation waged, for example, by an alliance of Persia, India and China against certain imperialist Powers is quite possible and probable, for it follows logically from the national liberation movements now going on in those countries. Whether such a war will be transformed into an imperialist war among the present imperialist Powers will depend on a great many concrete circumstances, and

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it would be ridiculous to guarantee that these circumstances will arise.

Thirdly, national wars must not be regarded as impossible in the epoch of imperialism even in Europe. The "epoch of imperialism" made the present war an imperialist war; it inevitably engenders (until the advent of socialism) new imperialist war; it transformed the policies of the present Great Powers into thoroughly imperialist policies. But this "epoch" by no means precludes the possibility of national wars, waged, for example, by small (let us assume, annexed or nationally oppressed) states *against* the imperialist Powers, any more than it precludes the possibility of big national movements in Eastern Europe. With regard to Austria, for example, Junius shows sound judgment in taking into account not only the "economic," but also the peculiar political situation, in noting Austria's "inherent lack of vitality" and admitting that "the Hapsburg monarchy is not a political organization of a bourgeois state, but only a loosely knit syndicate of several cliques of social parasites," that "historically, the liquidation of Austria-Hungary is merely the continuation of the disintegration of Turkey and at the same time a demand of the historical process of development." The situation is no better in certain Balkan states and in Russia. And in the event of the "Great Powers" becoming extremely exhausted in the present war, or in the event of a victorious revolution in Russia, national wars, even victorious ones, are quite possible. On the one hand, intervention by the imperialist powers is *not* possible under all circumstances. On the other hand, when people argue haphazardly that a war waged by a small state against a giant state is hopeless, we must say that a hopeless war is war nevertheless, and, moreover, certain events within the "giant" states —for example, the beginning of a revolution—may transform a "hopeless" war into a very "hopeful" one.

The fact that the postulate that "there can be no more national wars" is obviously fallacious in theory is not the only reason why we have dealt with this fallacy at length. It would be a very deplorable thing, of course, if the "Lefts" began to be careless in their treatment of Marxian theory, considering that the Third International can be established only on the basis of Marxism, unvulgarized Marxism. But this fallacy is also very harmful in a practical political sense; it gives rise to the stupid propaganda for "disarmament," as if no other war but reactionary wars are possible; it is the cause of the still more stupid and downright reactionary indifference toward national movements. Such indifference becomes chauvinism when members of "Great" European nations, *i.e.,* nations which oppress a mass of small and colonial peoples, declare with a learned air that "there can be no more national wars!" National wars *against* the imperialist Powers are not only possible and probable, they are inevitable, they are *progressive* and *revolutionary,* although, of course, what is needed for their success is

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either the combined efforts of an enormous number of the inhabitants of the oppressed countries (hundreds of millions in the example we have taken of India and China), or a *particularly* favorable combination of circumstances in the international situation (for example, when the intervention of the imperialist Powers is paralyzed by exhaustion, by war, by their mutual antagonisms, etc.), or a *simultaneous* uprising of the proletariat of one of the Great Powers against the bourgeoisie (this latter case stands first in order from the standpoint of what is desirable and advantageous for the victory of the proletariat).

We must state, however, that it would be unfair to accuse Junius of being indifferent to national movements. When enumerating the sins of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary group, he does at least mention their silence in the matter of the execution of a native leader in the Cameroons for "treason" (evidently for an attempt at insurrection in connection with the war); and in another place he emphasizes (for the special benefit of Messrs. Legien, Lensch and similar scoundrels who call themselves "Social-Democrats") that colonial nations are also nations. He declares very definitely:

"Socialism recognizes for every people the right to independence and freedom, the right to be masters of their own destiny. . . . International socialism recognizes the right of free, independent, equal nations, but only socialism can create such nations, only socialism can establish the right of nations to self-determination. This slogan of socialism," justly observes the author, "like all its other slogans, serves, not to justify the existing order of things, but as a guide post, as a stimulus to the revolutionary, reconstructive, active policy of the proletariat." (Pp. 77-78.)

Consequently, it would be a profound mistake to suppose that all the Left German Social-Democrats have stooped to the narrow-mindedness and distortion of Marxism advocated by certain Dutch and Polish Social-Democrats, who repudiate self-determination of nations even under socialism.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE NATIONAL FRONT TO DESTROY HITLER AND HITLERISM*

BY JAMES W. FORD

I. The Negroes' Stake in the Fight Against Hitlerism

NEVER was the need for the Negro people to defend the United States greater than today, when Hitler menaces the independence of this country and threatens the freedom and equality of all peoples.

When in the election campaign of 1940 we said that no one appreciated democracy more than the Negro people because they more than any other group in the country suffered from a denial of democratic rights, and that the treatment of the Negro people was an acid test of the welfare and liberties of *all* the people, there was a nationwide response by Negro people to this call for defense of democracy. The Negro people know what it is to be without national independence; they know the full meaning of slavery, and they have never stood and never will stand on the sidelines while the independence and national existence of the United States are endangered. Despite all efforts of enemies of the American people to exclude the Negro people from the very concept of the nation, the Negro people rightfully regard themselves as a part of the American nation and will yield to no one in their determination to defend it.

There can be no question that Hitler's threat to America is of the most vital concern to the Negro. The threat of Hitler has made the problem of democracy and liberty more urgent than at any time in history for the Negro people. Some Negroes hold the point of view that this is a "white man's affair" and there is no stake in it for Negroes. Such arguments are erroneous and dangerous, and arise because there is a failure to understand that every trait of Hitler, all he stands for, and all his policies toward nations and peoples leave no choice to any people including the Negro people but to resist Hitler and destroy Nazism. The fight against Hitler and Hitlerism is the affair of every loyal and patriotic American.

The National Front in defense of the nation against Hitler conquest

* Based on Report to New York-Chicago Communist Party Conference on Negro Work, Sept. 14 and 21, 1941.

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and the liberation struggle of the Negro people are not two mutually exclusive things; they are mutually supplementary. The fight for Negro rights must be conducted within the framework of the National Front. To separate these two mutually connected processes or to conduct the fight for Negro rights in such a way as to hamper the National Front would endanger the central task of defense of the nation and the special interests of the Negro people. Those who exploit the just demands of the Negro people, leading them into a blind alley in isolation from the nation and their working class allies, are traitors to the nation and endanger the liberation struggle of the Negro people. Such is the activity of the Trotskyites in every Negro community. They try to divert the Negro people from the realization that they face entirely new conditions of struggle. They cunningly play on the just grievances of the Negro people, propagandize them to "have nothing to do with the war against Hitler" and inflame them into "Negro nationalism," isolating them from their white working class allies. Pro-Hitler meetings in Harlem and other Negro communities sponsored by a small group of so-called "Negro nationalists" are egged on by Trotskyites. The ideology of these so-called "Negro nationalists" is the reverse of the coin of Hitler's Aryan theories of race, and represents for the Negro people the same poison as Hitler's racism does for the German people.

Does this mean that the just rights and demands of the Negro people, such as the right to vote, the elimination of the poll-tax, discrimination and so on, are sacrificed for the benefit of the National Front? No! It would be wrong to underestimate the grievances of the Negro people; it would be equally wrong to press these demands without regard to the main task of the destruction of Hitler, without which no serious fight for Negro rights is possible. Both would play into the hands of the appeasers, the Trotskyites and traitors. The military destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism is the foremost task of the entire nation. The problems of the Negro people must be brought forward and incorporated in the solution of this main task in such a way as to take into full account the *new conditions* facing the struggle for Negro rights. This requires that all sections of the Negro liberation movement recognize the absolute need of making a sharp turn, working in an entirely *new way in the light of the new situation.*

This *new* condition is the defense of the national independence and sovereignty of the United States against Hitler and his lust for world conquest. Hitler is warring on this nation. He hates the liberty which the American people cherish, and has earmarked for destruction the democracy and freedom which have been achieved in this country. He aims to destroy the economic life of this nation, to subjugate the economy of the whole world and, should he be successful, he would destroy the magnificent productive machinery of our nation, the object of admiration by all peoples. All

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products of world trade and commerce that are essential to the economic existence of this country would fall under Hitler's domination. He would dictate trade regulations of the world market and completely subordinate the industrial and agricultural life of this country to the greater profit of Nazi imperialist finance. Only secondary and supporting industries to Germany's "New Order" would be tolerated, and these would be headed by Hitler's American Quislings.

Not since eighty years ago (1861-65), since the Civil War which abolished slavery and established the unity of this nation, has this country faced such a crucial test as today. Into that struggle everything was thrown, every sacrifice was made to sustain the nation against enemies from within and from without, in this struggle our nation cannot fail again.

II. The Changed Character of the War

Discussion of the relationship of the problems of the Negro people to this major task of today requires, even at the expense of repetition, clarity on the new conditions since July 22, when the Soviet Union was attacked by the Hitler Nazis, immediately creating the gravest danger to the United States. Has the character of the war changed? What are the basis and orientation of the grouping and regrouping of forces nationally and internationally that have made the war a different kind of war, requiring alteration in approach?

This question was interestingly placed by Dr. Charles H. Thompson editor of *The Journal of Negro Education,* Howard University, Washington, D. C., in an article written in May of 1941, Dr. Thompson poses the following propositions:

"There are still a number of thoughtful people who are not so sure that the present conflict is anything more than a clash of rival imperialisms; that this conflict is just another struggle for power on an even larger and more devastating scale than World War I.

"There are still others, probably the majority, who believe that despite the imperialistic aspects of the present conflict there is much more at stake than salvaging foreign investments and foreign trade." *

Let us examine these propositions.

When the war broke out in 1939 it was clearly imperialistic. It was unmistakably a struggle to determine which group of powers was to dominate the world. The British-French camp conducted the war in the spirit of its Munich policies, still hoping to switch the war against the Soviet Union. The German imperialists, on the other hand, conquered one country after another, driving ahead rapidly and striking universal horror into the peoples of the world, who saw before them the specter of Nazi conquest of all peoples.

* *The Journal of Negro Education,* July, 1941, Special Edition, p. 305, Vol. X, No. 3: "Racial Minorities and the Present International Crisis." Dr. Thompson and the editors are to be complimented on a splendid collection of materials. It is worthy of serious study by all people interested in the viewpoint and struggle of minority groups against fascism and for a "new and better world."

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The Nazis held burning hatred for the Soviet people. The Soviet-German Pact of non-aggression held off attack for a while. The Soviet Union was a great power and sought to maintain peace up to the moment the imperialist groups plunged into war. When the war unavoidably broke out, the Soviet Union took a position of strict neutrality. This policy of neutrality served the interests and needs of all forces and peoples that wanted to check the spread of war, and stop imperialist blood letting.

But the Nazis plunged headlong from the Battle of Britain to the Balkan campaigns. They were heading to the Near East and endangering the security of the Soviet Union. This was in accord with the world conquest aims of Hitler. But the Nazis found in the U.S.S.R. a sharp check to their expansionist plans. Hitler could not launch an all-out attack against the British Isles because the Soviet Union stood at his back, a menace to all his bloody conquests. The strength of the Soviet Union gave stimulus to the peoples of Western Europe in their struggle for national independence against fascism. In desperation the Nazis treacherously violated the non-aggression pact and ruthlessly attacked the Soviet people on June 22. Thus a new phase of the war entered, changing all the relation of forces and the character of the war. Regrouping and reorientation of forces began to take place throughout the world. German imperialism's ruthless attack upon the Soviet Union showed beyond all doubt that Hitler was out for nothing less than conquest of the whole world.

The Churchill Government was quick to recognize the tragic danger to the national existence of Britain. The people of England as a whole had long begun to see the monstrous plans of Hitler to destroy the British nation. The peoples of Western Europe, whose struggles for national existence had been toyed with by big powers, stiffened their struggle against Nazi aggression. The unconquerable spirit of the peoples of Norway, Holland and France began to rise up against the German imperialist conquerors. Thus larger forces, whose aims were not aggression but were for national liberation against Nazi imperialism, began to crystalize. The Red Army and the Russian people in their noble and heroic stand against the aggressors on the Eastern Front became the bulwark of defense of all peoples.

The Soviet-British Pact of mutual assistance was concluded and served as a basis for the coalition of all anti-Hitler forces to stop the Nazis. Sections of the American bourgeoisie came to a realization of the danger of Hitler to the national security of the United States. The Roosevelt Government took steps to tighten our defenses and to join with Britain and the Soviet Union against Hitler aggression. The friends of fascism and Nazism, however, rushed to combat this policy; they prefer a Hitler victory to a victory of democracy. The proponents of fascism and Nazism are to be found in all capitalist states. They constitute the most reactionary

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circles of the bourgeoisie, who betray the national interests of the nation for their class interests. They attack and destroy the trade union organizations. They organize terror and tyranny. They stir up extreme chauvinism. They work to disunite the nation. In our country they are the Hoovers, Lindberghs, the Nyes and their like. As soon as the international situation changed they developed an immediate sharp opposition to the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Government. They encouraged appeasement, and sponsored racial bias, anti-Semitism and treason. This is how the Hitler wing of the bourgeoisie in our country acts.

The events here outlined transformed the second world war into a war of all peoples and nations for national independence and freedom from enslavement by Hitler—a war for the restoration of the national existence of conquered nations. The common interests of the British people, the Soviet people and the Chinese people merged on the war to crush Hitler, which became a just, liberating war. It is in the interest of all colonial and oppressed peoples, including the peoples of India and Africa.

The participation of the Soviet Union in this coalition safeguards the national interests of all peoples in the struggle against Nazi aggression. The Soviet Union is not imperialistic. The Soviet Union regards the war as a war against the Nazi rulers and not against the German people. Thus there is established the safeguard that there will be no new Versailles. The Soviet Union always made clear that victory over Hitler carries with it the guarantee of freedom of all peoples oppressed by Nazism, and the right of all nations to govern themselves as they see fit. The national interests of our own country require full collaboration, militarily and otherwise, with the world front to defeat the Nazi drive to enslave the globe.

III. The Negroes' Role in the National Anti-Hitler Front

What is the place of the Negro people in the National Front, for the military defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism? There are some tendencies in Negro circles that cause confusion by seeing the problems of the Negro people in the light of the first imperialist war of 1914-18. There are currents that are anti-Hitler but minimize and fail to reflect the tremendous menace of Hitler to the nation and correspondingly to the Negro people. Other currents tend to separate the problems of the Negro people from the problems of the nation and from their working class allies. Then there are some outright pro-Hitler provocateurs. On the whole, there is dominant anti-Hitler, pro-Soviet sentiment among the Negro people.

The Baltimore *Afro-American* posed the question very well when it wrote:

"We ask President Roosevelt to strike down those discriminations in the armed forces just as he has abolished them in the defense industries. And we urge him to make the fullest use of colored man-

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power not in the interests of sentiment or favor, but for the preservation of the nation and its democracy.

"In an all-out war against Hitler and Mussolini, we can no more win without our full cooperation than could Lincoln defeat Jeff Davis and Robert E. Lee.

"From the tomb, the voice of Lincoln sounds today as plainly as it did in 1861—'this nation cannot exist half slave and half free.' We invite the war President of today to heed the advice of the war President of 77 years ago."

This is a statesman-like utterance. What is the peculiar quality of the *Afro-American's* proposal? It is the demand for the fullest use of the colored man-power "not in the interests of sentiment or favor, but for the preservation of our nation and its democracy." To defeat Hitler all the forces of the nation must be brought to bear. The Negro must be treated as a part of the nation, and his efforts strengthened by wiping out discrimination in defense industries and in the armed forces, the very heart of national defense. This is our nation; it is our country. We live in it and we will not yield or give up the elementary right to defend it when it is threatened by Hitler bandits.

That is why Dr. Gordon H. Hancock, columnist, of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide,* is absolutely correct when he says:

"This nation and Negroes especially are facing a serious situation. Negroes, this is our war! The man with much can afford to lose some; the man with little cannot afford to lose that little. . . . We have our 'Black Patties,' 'Black Spurgeons,' and 'Black What-nots'; but may God forbid that we should have any Black Wheelers and Black Lindberghs."

The Negro people can only reject the overtures of the appeasers of Hitler as a betrayal of the interests of the Negro. In this respect the July 26 issue of the *Journal and Guide* is to be commended for condemning the sponsorship of a Charles Young Division of the America First Committee among Negroes. The America First Committee, through its spokesmen, Charles Lindbergh and Senator Nye, is spreading the poison of anti-Semitism and racial bias, throughout the country. It is aimed at dividing the nation, leaving it a prey to Hitler. John L. Lewis is also associated with the appeasers. Some years ago John L. Lewis created a name for himself among Negroes. But that popularity must not obscure the all-important fact that Lewis is actively aligned with the worst enemies of the Negro people. To ignore this, and to fail to decisively combat this treachery to the nation can only bring irreparable harm to the American people as well as to the struggle for Negro rights.

This is already indicated in the despicable activity of Horace Cayton, self-appointed Negro stooge of John L. Lewis and columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier.* In a recent issue of this paper he wrote:

"I would like to pass on a little advice to the Negro America First Committee. Hurry up and organize

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a national organization of Negroes like the Congress [National Negro Congress—*J.W.F.*], but with no Communists in it. Then when Lewis dismisses the National Negro Congress, go to him for support."

It need not be emphasized that this "advice" can only undermine the unity of Negro and white labor.

George Schuyler, columnist, of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, also speaks the language of the appeasers. His failure to see "no change in the character of the war," his charges that the Soviet Union represents "Red Imperialism," reveal him as an unprincipled adventurist. Schuyler's position must be exposed as incompatible with the best interests of the Negro people.

IV. The Fight Against Discrimination

The Negro has a stake in defending the nation against Hitler and Hitlerism. There can be no question about that. But neither can there be any question that everything that weakens his will to defend the nation must be vigorously combated. Those who make the Negro feel that he has no reason to defend the nation only play into the hands of the nation's enemies or belong among these enemies themselves. As long as Negroes are discriminated against in national defense industries this will be grist to the mill of the appeasers. We must wipe out all tendencies that will permit any Negro to be influenced by the poison of the appeasers.

We must face the struggle for Negro rights. The demand that discrimination be wiped out is just. The President has made several historic and important pronouncements in the form of executive orders against discrimination. These pronouncements go a long way in meeting the urgencies of the present situation. They should be followed up and extended. Immediate and urgent measures are necessary, not because the Negro desires to raise issues that would obstruct national defense or the national unity in defense of the nation, but because the intolerable abuses against the Negro people provide the basis for obstructionists to operate and sow the seeds of disunity; because such measures are required by the real and just demands of the Negro in the democracy he defends. They provide the basis for integrating the Negro as a living part of the nation. They provide the basis for mass mobilization of the Negroes in the quickest possible time. A minimum of such measures are:

1. Enforce the President's executive statement against discrimination in defense industry.

2. Remove from the army pro-fascist anti-Negro elements—those who intimidate, insult, abuse, spread rumors and race poison against Negro soldiers.

3. Punishment of those responsible for situations that developed at Fort Bragg and other army camps.

4. Form under the welfare division of the army an inter-racial committee, the object being to sponsor joint educational, cultural and athletic activities among Negro and white soldiers.

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5. Begin to pursue a policy where Negro regiments are officered by Negro personnel.

6. Call up the full enlistment of Negro soldiers.

7. Increase the number of Negro military police (M.P.'s).

8. Equal allotment of funds for equal recreational facilities for Negro soldiers.

9. End Jim-Crowism in the army.

The Negro people have made tremendous gains during the last ten years. They have made achievements in political organization and in the economic field. Jobs and employment have been won on a mass scale through the trade union movement. Great writers and artists have come forward to take commanding places in the progressive movement and in the cultural life of the nation. These gains and achievements have been based on an alliance with the white working class and through the organizations of the Negro people. The trade union movement has made great, historic strides forward in fighting for the rights of Negro workers. Barriers have been broken down because the trade unions have made advances in the organization of the major basic industries where they were required to seek a solution to the problems of Negro labor. Today is not like decades ago, when Jim-Crowism was to be found at the core of the organized labor movement, when trade unions thought that their major task was to keep Negroes out of jobs. Today great trade unions in the automobile, transportation, steel, packing and maritime industries have opened the doors of these industries to Negro workers. Great developments are taking place between Negro and white labor in the South. The labor movement occupies a decisive place in forging the National Front against Hitler and Hitlerism and the Negro proletariat, which is already demonstrating its leadership of the Negro people as a whole, will not be found wanting here too. The organized labor movement must continue its bold steps in behalf of Negro workers, involving the whole Negro people in the National Front.

A few words about the Communist Party. Our greatest task at present is to help the Negro people meet the new conditions in the struggle for their rights and to speedily take their place in the national front for the defeat of Hitler. A key phase of this task is to activize the Negro in the struggle to free Earl Browder. Earl Browder, free, will make a vital contribution to the task of helping the Negro people play their proper role in these critical days. Browder's activities in behalf of the Negro people have shown what kind of man Browder is. His fight for the release of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon are bright pages in the history of the people's struggle against Jim-Crowism. Under Browder's leadership, the Communist Party raised the struggles of the Negro people high in the consciousness of the entire labor and progressive movement. The Negro people, who know the menace of Hitlerism, can deeply appreciate how necessary it is to free Browder. Browder's case is not one of a pure

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technical infraction of a passport law. All fair-minded Americans know that this was not the real reason for his imprisonment and unprecedented heavy sentence which took place before the sharp turn in world events. Today, when the threat of Nazism is so real to the country, the matter of ordinary justice in the release of Browder becomes a profound necessity for the American people.

Browder is America's greatest fighter for Negro rights and his leadership of this fight has re-enacted the great traditions of John Brown and Lincoln. Every logic of America's security and independence against Hitler requires the freedom of Earl Browder. The Negro people will take their place beside the working class and all loyal Americans in working for Browder's freedom, so that he can resume his great contributions in the all-out struggle to crush Hitler and Hitlerism.

The Negro people will not move behind events. The Negro people have taken a serious position on all crises of America. If it has been true in the past surely it will be true now. They will go forward in the struggle of the nation—as one people, with one issue and one task—the military annihilation of Hitler and Hitlerism.

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WOMEN IN THE NATIONAL FRONT AGAINST HITLER

BY ELLA REEVE BLOOR AND ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

THE women of America face today the greatest danger with which they have ever been confronted—the menace of Hitlerism, which seeks ruthless world domination through murder and massacre, ruin and destruction of all that mankind treasures.

The scourge of Hitlerism has carried endless suffering and oppression to the peoples of Europe, and has trampled underfoot the culture and liberties of freedom-loving nations. The bitterest enemy of *all* mankind, fascism, is indeed in a special way *woman's* greatest enemy. It has deprived children of their childhood, youth of their future, women of their families. It not only kills and mutilates husbands, sons, brothers at the front, but outrages the dignity and honor of mothers, wives, girls. It promises only deepest degradation to all women, whom fascism regards not as human beings but as cattle.

This dread menace is not confined to Europe. With the monstrous attack upon the Soviet Union, revealing Hitler's goal of world conquest and world enslavement, the security, freedom and independence of our own nation have been placed in gravest jeopardy. For the women of America particularly, the most advanced of any capitalist country, Hitlerism threatens the annihilation not only of their homes, their families, their loved ones, and the democratic liberties of the people as a whole, but especially of all the rights and liberties they have won after many decades of struggle against economic, political and social repression.

"This Is No Time for Tears"

The heroic women of the Soviet Union, through their anti-fascist meeting held in Moscow on Sept. 7, have issued an appeal to women the world over to unite in struggle against the common danger that faces all humanity—fascism.

"Dear sisters, women throughout the world!" rings out their call. "Our liberty, the fate of our beloved children, of our brothers, husbands and loved ones, lies in our own hands. This is no time for tears. A bitter and relentless fight against fascism until the complete victory is achieved over Hitler's hordes can alone save our nations and our families from slavery and shame. . . .

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"Women of America and of all freedom-loving countries! Do all in your power to assist the just war of the Soviet Union and Britain, who are fighting not only for their own liberty but for the liberty and independence of your countries too.

"Help to increase war production and supplies to the armies fighting Hitlerism. Expose the Hitlerite agents who are disrupting the united front of the freedom-loving nations fighting against fascism. Send medicaments, warm clothes and gifts to the splendid fighters who are stamping out the fascist hordes.

"Women of the world! Build the united front of struggle against bloodthirsty Hitlerism! In our union lies our strength and the pledge of our victory!"

It is the great task and responsibility of American women to answer this appeal, in the full realization that the future of the world is being fought out on the battlefields of the Soviet Union, and that the national security and independence of our own nation are at stake. The broad masses of American women must be mobilized for an all-out battle against Hitlerism, for every measure necessary to assure the military defeat of Hitler, as the only way to defend their nation, to prevent their enslavement, to safeguard their present status and assure the possibilities of further advance. American women must be rallied to a program of national unity in support of a policy of full aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain and all peoples resisting Hitlerism, which alone can guarantee victory over barbarous Nazism.

Nazism Means Slavery for Women

That it is possible to forge the anti-fascist unity of the American women of various creeds and races, and among all strata of the population, has already been indicated by the action of outstanding American women who sent messages of greeting to the Soviet women's anti-fascist meeting. These women are recognized leaders in various fields of effort—pioneers in the women's suffrage movement, social workers, college professors, Negro leaders, writers, musicians, leaders in trade unions and women's trade union auxiliaries, and others. In their individual tributes to the magnificent resistance of the Red Army and the valor of the Soviet women, in their understanding of the common danger which menaces the women of all democratic nations, they expressed the thoughts, the spirit, the determination of hundreds of thousands and millions of American women in homes, factories, offices, professions and on farms.

The progressive and democratic women of our country realize full well that all the rights won by women through long years of battle are threatened by fascism and Nazism; that a victory for Hitler would set them back centuries in the fight for equality, would completely submerge them. For the Nazi doctrine is a doctrine of the enslavement of women, already proven by the bitter experiences of the women of Germany in the years since Hitler came to power, and now emphasized acutely in the degradation suffered by the women in the territories conquered by Hitler.

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Nazism has proclaimed that women's place is only with "Kinder, Kueche, Kirche"—children, kitchen, church. That doctrine has served, for Nazism, only to belittle women, to place them in an inferior position, to deprive them of all opportunities for participation on any basis of equality in the political, social and economic life of nations.

Under Nazism, there is neither dignity nor honor in motherhood: women are looked upon as breeding animals to produce soldiers for the "greater Reich." Women in Germany have been removed from positions of responsibility. Their status in the home is regarded as that of servants. While Nazi aggressions have forced more and more women into industry, there is no dignity in women's labor, no possibility of the free exercise of her abilities and talents. For women are relegated to the lowest paid jobs, have been used as a source of cheap labor power, are sent into forced labor as domestics and on farms, have no opportunity for advancement.

The Nazi theory of Kinder, Kueche and Kirche is a reactionary theory of women's eternal inferiority and complete subordination to authority. To struggle for women's independence and equality means only treason in the language of fascism.

Thus, to the millions of women in Germany, Nazism has brought only fear and horror, broken homes, death to their loved ones on the battlefield, orphaned children, a bleak and hopeless future. The women in the conquered nations of Europe over which the dreaded swastika flies—those who have been sent into forced labor in Germany for the benefit of the landholders and the wealthy; those who have been forced into brothels for the German murdering hordes; those whose homes have been broken beyond repair—have already experienced in pain and sorrow the real meaning of Nazi "culture."

The masses of women of America will not accept the Nazi doctrine; for the great majority of them are anti-fascist, are unalterably opposed to Hitlerism. All their historic traditions and their struggles for economic, political and social equality, as well as their present efforts to broaden and deepen their participation in the economic and political life of our country, are diametrically opposed to hated Nazism and all it stands for.

The women of America, from early colonial days onward, through the years of the Revolutionary War, the Abolitionist movement and the Civil War, have played their part in struggles for freedom and justice. Their long battle for women suffrage; their struggles for economic and trade union rights; their active participation in movements for extension of democratic liberties, for advancement of education, have all created a powerful women's movement expressed in various forms, and have resulted in rich achievements.

American women will not readily yield their present position. Organized women in the trade unions and women's auxiliaries of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., in the Parents-

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Teachers Association, in church groups, in the numerous community clubs of working, professional and farm women, Negro and white, as well as the vast millions of women as yet unorganized, can be rallied to defend to the utmost the gains they have won, the democratic way of life they have been able to attain. It is precisely because of their special stake in smashing barbarous Hitlerism that American women have a vital place to fill in the national anti-fascist front, a vital role to play in the destruction of Nazism.

The democratic anti-fascist spirit which dominates American women has been seen in action in recent years and cannot be denied. There is the great sympathy manifested throughout the land for the heroism and struggle of the women of China against the monstrous aggression of Japan, reaching its highest expression in the boycott movement against Japanese goods, which at one time made considerable headway. There is the tremendous support given by the women of America to the struggle of Republican Spain against fascism within and fascist aggression from without, expressed actively in the resolutions adopted by leading women's organizations, in their participation in campaigns for medical aid. There is the tribute paid in many ways to the fortitude and heroism of the women of Britain.

Now, with the monstrous attack of Hitler's hordes upon the Soviet Union, a new impetus has been given to the advanced and progressive women of America in their fight against the world danger of a Hitler victory. Regardless of what these women may think of the Soviet system as a whole, they have generally recognized that women in the Soviet Union have made great strides forward. For in the Soviet Union, women have been equal participants with men in the building of their country; women have achieved the highest forms of economic, political and social equality of any nation in the world — an equality definitely established in the very constitution of the U.S.S.R. itself. In the Soviet Union, women occupy highest positions of leadership in industry, in trade unions, in all government bodies. In the Soviet Union, greatest advances have been made in those very fields which absorb the interests of large masses of women in our own country — the fields of maternity and child care, education, health and recreation. The advanced achievements of the Soviet women are indeed in the line of aspiration of forward-looking American women throughout our land, and have set an example in many spheres of activity for American women to follow.

Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union menaces therefore not only the achievements of Soviet women, but everything American women have achieved and aspire to as well. If the heroic defense of the Soviet people is broken through, the enslavement of all peoples will follow with special degradation for the women. We have, indeed, a "war to win." Nazi doctrines are not kept within the confines of Germany.

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They are imposed by force of arms upon all conquered peoples. Thus, for the women of America, all-out aid to the Soviet Union in its life and death struggle with fascism and Nazism is in the deepest sense all-out aid for the defense of themselves, America and its institutions, its democratic achievements and practices.

The pro-Hitler appeasement forces in our country seek to appeal to women on the intensely emotional grounds of their love for husbands, sons, brothers, and thus to demoralize them. They obscure the real issues and conceal the real dangers. American mothers, they declaim, do not want their sons to die on foreign battlefields. Yes, it is true indeed that American mothers want their sons alive, not dead. But the choice is no longer with them. Hitler's goal of world domination has made it clear that the safety of our homes, our loved ones, can be assured only with his complete military destruction. Now indeed is the time to strike the blows that can defeat him, and thus prevent the inevitable destruction on a far vaster scale that faces America should this monster be victorious.

We have to convince, and can convince, the American women that it would be too late to wait until the fascist beast strikes directly at our shores. Once this is done, the courage and heroism which American women displayed in the War of Independence, in the pioneer trek to the West, the militancy with which they have fought for their rights in the past, can and will express itself today, in the greatest crisis our country and the world have ever known. American women, no less than the women of China, of Britain, of the Soviet Union, can and will demonstrate their devotion to the cause of liberty and independence.

Tasks Before American Women

While the broad masses of our nation's women are strongly anti-fascist, it must be recognized nonetheless that they do not as yet draw all the necessary conclusions from their position, as to the means by which alone Hitler can be defeated. They do not yet clearly see the part our country must play in the military defeat of Hitler. They have not yet asserted themselves boldly, nor have they been sufficiently articulate. Efforts at united action have moved very slowly. They are not altogether clear on their special role in national defense.

It must be clearly understood that the program of national defense demands the broadest and most active participation of all women. The total war which Hitler has forced upon mankind demands a total defense. The front line in this war extends back into all cities, all industries, all farms, all homes. The fight against Hitler and Hitlerism is a *people's* struggle, and the whole *people* must be involved.

The great tasks facing the women of America today, to enable them to fulfill their special role in the national crisis, are:

1. To develop a broad campaign of enlightenment among women, organized and unorganized, in shops

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and unions, in city homes and on farms, that will clarify the fundamental issues, expose the pro-Hitler appeasers, convince the nation's women that Hitlerism can be kept from our land and peace finally obtained only through the military defeat of Hitler.

2. To translate their anti-fascist sentiment into *action;* to organize and build a mass movement among them that has the definite objective of impelling the Administration and the nation as a whole to adopt all measures necessary to give the most effective aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain that will assure the military destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism.

3. To unify the efforts of the organized women through a common program and common goals, thereby drawing into ever greater activity also the great numbers of unorganized women.

4. To enlarge and make more effective women's role in defense production.

5. To draw millions of women into greater participation in all phases of national defense activity affecting the home and community.

6. To arouse women to their responsibility in strengthening the morale of the armed forces.

7. To establish the leading role of the organized working women—as part of the labor movement—in the trade unions and in women's trade union auxiliaries.

In a program of education and enlightenment, discussions should be organized and encouraged wherever women gather; appropriate literature should be distributed and sold far and wide among them. The voice of the American women should be heard loud and clear, in resolutions and letters sent to the President, to their Congressmen, their Senators; in letters sent to local newspapers, and women's magazines, supporting a fight to the finish against Hitler, demanding the maximum aid to the people of Great Britain and especially the Soviet Union, which today bears the brunt of the war. Let petitions be circulated in communities and organizations; let representative committees of women visit prominent public officials in their locality and state, to express the anti-fascist determination of the American women. Demonstrative actions should be organized in every possible locality through mass meetings or other forms where anti-fascist women can unite to make known their demands.

Aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain provides many opportunities for concrete participation by women. Organized women especially can send greetings to the valiant women of the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Funds can be raised for medical supplies; tens of thousands of knitting circles can be organized in homes, communities and women's organizations, to make sweaters and mufflers for the Red Army now preparing for the rigors and terrible hardships of a winter campaign. Packages of necessities can be sent to Soviet soldiers, to Soviet women and children, who willingly make all sacrifices for the needs of their front-line fighters. A mass participation by women in

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concrete campaigns to aid the Soviet Union and Great Britain will demonstrate in a most effective way that American women are prepared to battle together with the Soviet and British peoples to smash the deadly menace of Hitlerism.

Women in the Battle for Production

One of the most decisive fronts in national defense is that of *defense production.* Today we know that the production of arms, airplanes, tanks, rubber and other needs for national defense, for all-out aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain, will be a decisive factor in the outcome of the war against Hitler. *Production for defense must be tremendously speeded up, and extended to meet all needs; this is decisive.*

With hundreds of thousands of men drawn into the armed forces, great numbers of women will have to be called upon to work in defense industries.

The labor of women in basic industries is not new. Already in 1930, according to the census figures of that year, of the nearly 2,000,000 women who worked in factories (out of a total of 11,000,000 women gainfully employed), hundreds of thousands were employed in industries and trades necessary for war production. There were 180,000 employed in metal, including iron and steel; 50,000 in the auto industry; 35,000 in rubber; 82,000 in the making of electrical supplies; 86,000 in chemical industries. Rayon plants, which can be converted overnight to manufacture explosives, employed 50 to 60 per cent women in their working force. We must also consider the clothing and food industries, which employ a large percentage of women and which are of vital importance in war production.

Today women's work contributes largely to the labor force in many plants producing ammunition, explosives, firearms, instruments and small parts for aircraft and other ordnance and defense products.

According to *The Woman Worker,* a bulletin issued every two months by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, which in its September, 1941, issue compiled data from a number of outstanding plants, a

"roughly estimated 12,000 women are or shortly will be doing shell-loading operations in Indiana, Iowa, Illinois and Ohio in the Middle West, as well as in Utah and in Tennessee. A similar number of women are performing or soon will perform processes on small-arms ammunition in Colorado, Connecticut, Missouri and Pennsylvania. Loading bags with powder or sewing such bags is a job for 5,000 to 6,000 women in Indiana, Alabama and Virginia. Many women are at work on explosives in New Jersey, on airplane parts in Connecticut and New Jersey, on assembling radios for airplanes or other small assembly, and on aircraft instruments in New York, New Jersey and Ohio."

In Des Moines, Iowa, in Texas, and in other states, women are to be employed by the thousands in new ammunition and ordnance plants. The Federal Bureau of Employment Security has reported that

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in the first quarter of this year women constituted well over a tenth of the workers placed by the public employment services in a selected group of twenty-six defense industries, with nearly a third of these placements in jobs in iron and steel and machinery plants. Women constitute a large proportion of those making ammunition for use in small arms. According to a recent report of the Women's Bureau, in a large arsenal that tends to establish standards for this industry, women are about 40 per cent of the workers.

While these facts indicate that there is some increase in the employment of women in defense industry, that increase is still in no way commensurate with the possibilities or the need of a greatly expanded production program. This was made clear by a recent statement of Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, in which he declared that a study of close to 1,900 different occupations required in twenty-one key defense industries revealed that a large majority are jobs in which women could successfully be employed but are not being hired at present.

It is imperative in the interests of national defense that the widest participation by women in defense production be made possible. This necessitates that a broad and intensive industrial training program for women be undertaken with full government aid; that full opportunity be given women to train for and work at skilled occupations, that they shall not be considered only as sources of unskilled labor. Negro women must be given full opportunity to participate in such industrial training, and job discrimination against them must be combated.

Labor must be on guard to see that employment of women in defense industries shall not be utilized by greedy monopolists to depress wage standards and thereby create antagonisms between men and women defense workers. Sidney Hillman, Associate OPM Director, has already recognized the dangers involved in such action. In a letter to 200 airplane companies and other defense contractors in California, Kansas and Connecticut, he made it clear that "it is necessary that the hours of work, rates of pay, and conditions of work conform with established standards for the industry, in order that there may be no disturbance due to a lowering of these standards."

Here the trade unions have a highly important role, to organize the unorganized women and protect their interests. This is in the first place the task of unions of the C.I.O., which prevail in the basic and mass production industries, and which have already made considerable headway in organizing the unorganized industrial women and increasing their basic wage rates.

A correct approach toward the employment of women in defense industries, their training, the protection of their interests — which coincide with the interests of labor as a whole—can be a concrete and practical demonstration of struggle against Nazi doctrines and policies in all their forms, and will stimu-

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late women to fight harder for protection of their rights and liberties through uncompromising struggle for the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism. It will help to bring women workers into the active stream of the organized labor movement, upon which rests the prime responsibility of leading the national anti-fascist front.

Women in Civilian Defense

The national defense effort involves not only women engaged in production, but must to an ever increasing extent unite them with the many millions of women who, as housewives, have also great obligations and duties to perform.

The organization of *Civilian Defense* makes possible the broadest participation of *all women*, of all strata, all creeds, all nationalities, all races, in a united movement that will mobilize the home front for complete participation in the struggle for the defense of the nation through all measures of a military, economic, political and social nature which can contribute to bring about the destruction of Nazism.

The establishment of the National Office of Civilian Defense, with its regional divisions, and the organization of local defense councils, have created the need and possibility for active service on the part of great masses of women throughout the country. Thousands of women are already participating in the work of these councils, serving as civilian volunteers for aircraft observation duties, enrolling in air raid precaution courses and in other capacities; many thousands more can be drawn into these forms of activity.

An urgent need for trained and volunteer nurses has been sounded by both Mayor La Guardia, as Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, and Surgeon-General Thomas Parran. Mayor La Guardia has submitted a program to train 100,000 volunteer Nurses' Aides within the next year in collaboration with the Red Cross and the nation's hospitals, to which all women between the ages of 18 and 50 who have had a high school education will be eligible. Surgeon-General Parran has asked 50,000 young women to begin training this fall for professional nursing careers in order to "avert serious damage to the nation's health during the present emergency."

Civilian defense, however, involves more than preparations and training for the contingencies of air raids, and for nursing care. Certainly the greatest national asset that a nation has is its people, and the basis of any defense program is the protection of the people. To rally the entire nation for full democratic participation in and utmost support of the program of national defense demands that this program concern itself with the well-being of the entire population. It demands the utmost in the protection of the living standards of the people; that adequate food, clothing and housing shall be available to all the people; that educational facilities and opportunities shall not be curtailed, but on the contrary even expanded. It requires a determined

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struggle against rising living costs, against profiteering. It calls for attention to the needs in recreation and education particularly of the children and youth of the nation. A policy of total defense requires indeed that the needs of civilian consumers shall be considered and cared for as the defense program develops in states and localities.

In the Handbook for Consumer Representatives of State and Local Defense Councils, issued in June, 1941, by the Consumer Division of the Office of Price Administrator and Civilian Supply, and the Office of Civilian Defense, the opening paragraph of the foreword states:

"Total defense requires the protection of living standards against excessive increases in living costs and the strengthening of living standards wherever these are dangerously low. Equally essential to democratic defense is the participation by people whose living is involved in programs for their own protection and for strengthening the living standards of their communities."

Further, the foreword continues:

"The basic principle which should guide measures for consumer protection is effective use of available community resources and participation by all groups of consumers in the community, whatever their economic level, part of town, race, nationality or affiliation."

This approach to national defense should guide consumer defense activities in which literally millions of women can be involved.

The High Cost of Living

The struggle against the high cost of living is one of the major issues with which women should concern themselves. It is necessary to encourage wise shopping, knowledge of nutrition, and so on. Undoubtedly these and similar factors can influence the living standards of the family. The main problem, however, is still to provide an abundance of food, to prevent monopolies from gouging the people through excessive profits, to guarantee employment and wage standards that can assure the purchase of needed food, clothing and other necessities, that can make possible decent housing. No amount of knowledge of the importance and use of milk for growing children and even for adults will enable the mother and wife to provide the necessary milk for her family if the milk trust is allowed to continue to blitzkrieg the public in prices, and the family income does not permit the purchase of the amounts necessary. And so with bread, with meat, with wool and cotton and other requirements for decent living.

Women in the shops and trade unions, women in the homes, through local defense councils and through their own organizations, must unite for action against increased living costs. They should demand of their Congressmen passage of the Administration Price-Control Bill, which though inadequate is a necessary measure at this time. They should demand of their city and state governments speedy action against the milk

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trusts, for lowered milk prices; against the bread trust, for lowered bread prices. They should work for the establishment of a lunch program for children in public and high schools. They should not only protest rent increases, but organize to bring pressure to prevent landlords and banks from utilizing the national emergency for rent profiteering. They should strive for increased relief for those still unemployed and on relief rolls. They should give all possible support to the program for increased production outlined by Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, at the same time that they insist the farmer shall receive adequate payment for his products.

The main fire must be directed against those monopolies which operate against the national interest and sabotage national defense through systematic profiteering and arbitrary curtailment of production.

Such activities and demands for the protection of the living standards and health of the people are not in any way intended to obstruct the national defense program, but on the contrary to strengthen this program. It is true that pro-Nazi appeasers demagogically attempt to utilize these issues to sabotage and fight against national defense efforts. But these same treasonable elements, who trickily try to divert the attention of the women from the main issues to some minor trifle such as meat-grading, are among the first to resist any serious efforts to curb monopoly profits.

To those who want to defend our country from the menace of fascism through the complete destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism; to those who want to develop the widest and most active support for the Administration's foreign policy, national defense means an integration of all measures for the military defense of our nation, which rests upon full aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and protection of the interests, the health and well-being, the wage standards and civil rights, of the great mass of men, women and children who constitute our nation. This will assure the most energetic, devoted and loyal participation of the whole people in the defense of our country.

In this protection of the needs of the civilian population rests to a great extent the preservation of civilian morale, and the raising of the morale of the armed forces.

One of the most important spheres of activity of the women in every city, every community, is to strengthen the morale of the men in the army. The question of the morale of the men now being trained for national defense is not only a matter of providing them with recreation, with letters and presents from home, though these are extremely important. Since the army is made up of the people, is supported by the people, it can essentially derive its morale from the people. A united, strongly organized woman's movement as part of a national front for an all-out offensive against Hitler, willing to give all, up to military effort, for the defense of the nation, can make a tremendous contribution to the morale of the army.

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"This is no time for tears," declares the appeal of the women of the Soviet Union. It is essential that women cooperate in every way possible with the United Service Organizations. It is essential also that they understand so completely the issues at stake in the great crisis in which our country finds itself, that they act with courage and initiative, without fear or sorrow, to strengthen the readiness and determination of their sons, brothers, husbands, sweethearts in the armed forces to do all they may be called upon for the defense of America from the menace of Nazism. The women of Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the women of China as well, have shown us the way.

Working Women in the Forefront

Here we have given a program around which women can be rallied for united action in a national anti-fascist front.

It is to the organized women that we must look for initiative and action which can weld such unity.

We must look to the hundreds of thousands of women in the trade unions, in the first place, who as part of the labor movement have the most at stake in the threat of fascism. It is they who are called upon, together with all other workers, to protect the wage standards and rights of labor as part of a program of National Defense; to join in the democratic participation of labor to win the battle of defense production. It is they who must give basic leadership to all other sections of the women of our country on issues of foreign and domestic policy. For this they must become more articulate, must speak out more militantly, more freely and decisively. Their voice must be made to count in the councils of women. They should be included in all state, local and community defense councils.

We must look to the women in the trade union auxiliaries, both of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., now numbering many tens of thousands, who constitute also a basic section of the working class movement, whose understanding of fundamental policies and issues is developed through their activities as an auxiliary force to the trade union movement. The trade union auxiliaries which have been built in every major industrial city can become powerful instruments for drawing working class housewives into the stream of struggle for national defense, for aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

In New York State, women's clubs and organizations, through the Women's Division of the New York State Defense Council, including trade unions, auxiliaries, professional and social clubs, fraternal organizations, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, and others, are already organizing training classes in defense, health and nutrition, study groups on the meaning of democracy, and are arranging for cooperation with the U.S.O. to help build morale in the country's armed forces.

In every state, in every city,

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women's organizations can be involved in all phases of national defense activity, to participate in various movements for anti-fascist struggle and the defense of the freedom of America, to share in building a national front to defend America from the threat of Hitler fascism. Through these organizations and such activity, the masses of unorganized women in every locality can be involved in various efforts, and the advantages of organization impressed upon them. This will add greatly to the strength of the women's movement in America, the very existence of which affords the possibilities of decisive struggle against Hitlerism and all it stands for.

Finally, in this grave historic moment, when the future of mankind itself is at stake, Communist women have special duties and responsibilities. The Communist Party is justly proud of the role of the many thousands of women in its ranks. They have been at all times among the most active forces in our movement; their unswerving loyalty and devotion have inspired the entire Party; they have in the recent period especially taken positions of leadership in all Party organizations and committees. Today they are called upon for still greater effort, for unstinted tireless service in the cause of welding the unity of the women of America within the national anti-fascist, anti-Hitler front.

Let nothing deter the Communist women from this task. Let them participate actively in all national defense efforts. Let them seek boldly and unhesitatingly to break down whatever barriers separate them from other sections of the women's movement, in face of the common danger facing all women, the entire nation. All sectarian tendencies and approaches must be combated. Existing differences among women and their organizations must be subordinated to the fundamental task of arousing the women of America to the menace of barbaric Hitlerism, of organizing them for the broadest participation in national defense, in a mighty nation-wide effort to unite the great anti-fascist masses behind a program of such aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain as will assure the destruction of Hitler and hence the security and independence of our nation.

Let the women of America make common cause with the valiant women of the Soviet Union and Great Britain, with the unconquered women of the nations subjugated by Hitler.

There is no time to lose. We must get to work. This is *our war;* we must help bring it to victory.

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FARM PRODUCTION FOR DEFENSE

BY JAMES S. ALLEN

A VITAL sector of national defense is agriculture. Like munitions and armaments, food is a weapon against Hitlerism. In the mobilization of all our resources for defense of America farm production has a triple role to perform. It must (a) provide in increasing quantities the agricultural raw materials needed for defense industry and in the manufacture of substitutes, such as plastics, for prime materials of which there are shortages; (b) provide food supplies for those peoples engaged in resisting Axis aggression; and (c) maintain an adequate supply for our own expanding armed forces and for the satisfactory feeding of the nation, needs which will grow to gigantic proportions as the United States plays an increasingly active role in its own defense against Nazi aggression.

Despite large surpluses which have accumulated in some of our basic crops, a thoroughgoing national mobilization would face serious bottlenecks on the agricultural front. It has been estimated, for example, that if we were required to maintain an army of 4,000,000 men present farm production, including stored-up surpluses, would be insufficient, even if the general level of consumption remained unchanged and there was no other drain upon our resources. In fact, maximum production in agriculture has now become an imperative need for national security and a necessary guarantee that in our national interest we shall be able to fulfil our obligations in the world anti-Hitler front.

Interwoven with the problem of expanding farm production is the pressing *political* urgency of winning the mass of farmers for the National Front. In reality, we have here two aspects of the same problem, which can be solved only if the drive for production in agriculture proceeds as a part of the general political mobilization of the farmers against Hitlerism both at home and abroad. This is all the more urgent because the enemies of national unity, the appeasement and pro-Hitler groups, have been especially active among the farmers in their effort to prevent united and enthusiastic support for the Administration's foreign policy.

The Hoovers, Lindberghs, McCormicks, Coughlins and Cudahys seek to play upon the isolationist confusion among the farmers, and to make political capital out of the

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injustices resulting from the reduction programs of the A.A.A. To cite but one instance: In the form of the so-called wheat rebellion, directed against the high penalty for over-quota wheat, the Coughlinites and appeasers are seeking to organize the farmers of the mid-West against government "interference" in agriculture and what they term the Administration's effort to "Sovietize America." Such activities of the pro-Hitler elements and Benedict Arnolds sound a danger signal for the whole country. It has become a national problem of the first order to expose this fascist demagogy, isolate and curb the Hitlerite column which is led by such people as Cudahy and McCormick. who have always been the worst enemies of the farmers, and rally the farmers to the fullest participation in national defense.

Still another series of problems arises from the general impoverishment of the farmers, which has been caused by the process of capitalist development. There is no solution of the basic problems short of socialism; but it is inescapable that the process of expropriation of what may be loosely termed the family-sized farms and the simultaneous process of concentration in agriculture were furthered by the program of scarcity, by planned crop reduction under the A.A.A. If today, in response to the urgent demands of national defense, the program of scarcity should give way to a program of maximum production some of the more immediate and pressing problems of the mass of farmers can be met. This is so because it would be necessary, in order to get *maximum* production, to involve that 50 per cent of the farmers who do not now participate in commercial production, and to increase the capacity of all productive farms.

The basis, therefore, for winning the farmers for the central, unifying task of the nation is the development of a national program for all-out farm production. This entails a complete redirection of the national farm policy from scarcity to abundant production. Of special significance, then, as an important step in this direction, is President Roosevelt's recent letter to Secretary of Agriculture Wickard. This letter is an effort to establish a broad basis upon which a new program for agriculture can be developed in accordance with the needs of the present emergency. We quote its essential passages:

"In this time of crisis, food is a weapon against Hitlerism just as much as munitions and food will continue to be a weapon in all efforts toward insuring a more orderly, prosperous and peaceful world.

". . . When democracy is in danger, our farmers always have rallied to its defense and they always will. All they ask in return for their increased production is fair prices and assurances of protection after the emergency has passed. I think farmers should have these assurances insofar as we are able to give them.

". . . We need not only abundant production for ourselves and for other nations resisting aggression, but we need reserves to meet emergencies that can as yet be only

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dimly foreseen. The monstrous forces that Nazism has loosed upon the world are ravaging many lands. The first task is to beat down these forces and then to repair the damage they have done to the best of our ability. In this process of rebuilding, and rehabilitation, food will be essential. . . .

"The time has come to reward abundance. . . ."

This letter is significant particularly with respect to the more immediate and timely aspects of the problem emphasized by Roosevelt. There can be complete agreement on the proposition that food should be considered as "a weapon against Hitler." The overwhelming mass of farmers and all who have consistently opposed the plow-under and pro-monopoly features of the A.A.A. will enthusiastically welcome the call for "increased" and "abundant production." The President's attempt to redirect Administration policy from scarcity to abundance, from a program of restriction to a program of maximum production, "for ourselves and for all other nations resisting aggression" can be fully supported. The family-sized farmers especially want to increase production, are anxious to participate in the national anti-Hitler effort, even at sacrifices to themselves, but at the same time want to be assured that their land and means of livelihood be secure. There can be only complete agreement with the policy inherent in the phrase "the time has come to award abundance."

It is true that the Roosevelt letter does not outline the vitally necessary financial and legislative steps which are needed in order to establish a working program for increased production. But it does present a broad basis for a national program of abundant agricultural production through which the farmers can be rallied for the anti-Hitler national front. The farmers, and labor, can not only support this reorientation of farm policy, but they need to direct their efforts with the utmost energy to assure the new policy becoming that national program which in practice operates in accordance with the interests of the national front. The policy indicated by Roosevelt needs to be implemented in such a way as to make possible the maximum farm production.

That the farmers, supported by labor, should rally around and seek to develop further the initial program set forth in the President's letter becomes all the more necessary in view of the fact that the measures now being advocated by the Department of Agriculture still contain some of the worst features of the A.A.A. and do not provide sufficiently for the new needs of the day. In connection with the four regional conferences now being held to plan production increases for 1942, Secretary Wickard announced a crop program which still falls far short of the requirements. It is true that the plan for 1942 does initiate the movement toward increased production in dairy, meat, vegetable and industrial crops, but even here not on the scale demanded by the situation.

On the other hand, the 1942

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schedule provides for further reduction in the wheat crop, and proposes no change from the restricted plantings of corn, cotton, feed grains and tobacco. This reluctance and hesitancy to embark upon an all-out program of farm production, which stem largely from the appeasement and pro-Hitler influences which are generated by the processing monopolies and the corporation farms associated with them, will hardly arouse the mass enthusiasm of the farmers. Nor can they be impressed by the proposal to further reduce wheat acreage and retain the restriction in other basic crops, when they have just been told by President Roosevelt that "food is a weapon against Hitler" and that "the time has come to award abundance."

The only way the needs of the moment can be adequately met is through an all-out program of agricultural production, which will make the most effective use of every farm, as well as the labor and machinery of every farmer in a planned national effort. We must have maximum farm production to meet the requirements of the defense program on the home front—to increase the output of agricultural raw materials needed by our defense industries and to supply the foodstuffs necessary for our expanding armed forces and the growing industrial armies in the defense industries. Such a national effort is demanded in order that America may increase her direct aid to the peoples fighting Axis aggression, by sending much-needed food supplies to England, the Soviet Union, China and others as they participate in the anti-Hitler front. Finally, such a national program of abundant production is necessary to safeguard the living standards of the whole people, to supply as much butter as is possible along with the guns, thus helping to avoid the consequences of inflation, particularly with regard to the basic food essentials.

But a stepped-up schedule of production must be supplemented by measures which will make it possible for every farm and every farmer to participate in the national effort. This requires that substantial Federal aid be made available for the majority of farmers, the small and middle farmers, to enable them to enter into production on a larger scale. Bounties for reducing production are no longer necessary; the production credit facilities of the Federal government need to be expanded, including farm appropriations under Lend-Lease, Surplus Marketing, Farm Security, Commodity Credit and all other operations which will stimulate farm production. It is now more necessary that such legislation as the Farm Debt Adjustment Bill and a more adequate Farm Tenancy Bill be enacted as one of the means to make it possible for the family-sized farm to remain in production. The nation now needs the productive efforts of the millions of farmers who during the past few decades have been pressed out of commercial production and forced to become the "derelicts" of agriculture.

As one of the means to curb anti-defense practices of the processing monopolies and the speculators, and to combat inflationary tendencies, it

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is of paramount importance to establish a system of price control which will operate in the interest of national defense and safeguard the living standards of the people. If the control of farm commodity prices is to assure the farmer his cost of production it is necessary that other controls be simultaneously established. Most important controls of this kind are: establishment of rigid checks to prevent profiteering on consumers' goods, which hits both workers and farmers; measures to lower the high profit margins enjoyed by the farm implement manufacturers, the processors, food trusts and railroads whose high freight rates bear most heavily on the farmers; measures to guarantee the workers adequate wages with which they can buy the agricultural products they need. In connection with general price control, the farmers should be given the opportunity through their elected representatives to participate, together with government, labor, the consumers and the merchants, in the fixing and periodic review of prices for farm and other commodities.

There can be no guarantee of a strong National Front nor of the stepping up of farm production unless the mass of farmers are democratically involved in the various farm agencies which are concerned with the planning and administration of the farm program. Through their own means, such as their organizations, conventions and press, the farmers have been discussing the present emergency. But this is not enough. The doors must be opened wide for the participation of the farmers on the Agricultural Defense Boards, A.A.A. agencies, planning boards, etc. Some steps in this direction have been taken, such as the appointment of the heads of the four principal national farm organizations to serve with the Secretary of Agriculture on the Committee on Agricultural Production for Defense. Another step in this direction is the calling of the regional farm conferences to discuss "plans for assuring the production of sufficient food in 1942 both for the United States and for countries resisting aggression." But these beginnings have to be extended to reach down below, to involve the farmers on a township and county scale in the planning and administration of the national production effort, in stimulating their creative thought and proposals on the productive needs of the country. Along these lines, it would be appropriate to develop local conferences of the farmers, together with local government, the Federal farm agencies and representatives of labor, merchants and consumers to discuss the common problems arising from the national emergency.

It would be a dangerous illusion to think that the mere announcement of a national farm program for abundant production by the Administration will in itself rally the farmers to the National Front. Constant vigilance and ever growing efforts are needed both to implement the program and to rally the farmers to it. It should be born in mind that in some sections of the country, particularly in the Mid-

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West, the local directors of the Federal farm agencies are in many instances drawn from appeasement circles and that it may be necessary to fight the sabotage of such elements in order to realize the program of maximum production. It should also be remembered that if traditional enemies of the farmers, such as Cudahy of the meat-packing trust and McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune*, appear among the top circles of appeasers, they have many means of carrying their pro-Hitler program down below among the farmers.

A really national effort means the participation of all farmers—whether they be big, middle or small—to their maximum capacity in the job of stepping up farm production. This entails the winning of the major farm organizations for the objectives of the National Front. The problems raised by the national defense effort and the new Federal farm program will undoubtedly be at the center of discussion in the state and national farm conventions scheduled for the immediate months ahead. It is unavoidable that there should be differences among the major organizations, differences of program and approach, which vary according to the crop areas and the predominant class of farmers which each represents. But these differences now need to be subordinated to the main thing, to the central problem of the country—to achieve national unity for the defense of the country and the defeat of Hitler. The appeasers can be counted upon to do everything in their power to influence these conventions, to undermine and disorientate the national program by political demagogy, by playing upon isolationist confusion and the most backward prejudices, such as anti-Semitism. The patriotic and progressive farmers need to rise above struggles and differences of the recent past and subordinate all else to the task of exposing and defeating the Hitlerite enemies of the people, setting the farmers on record through their conventions and meetings in support of the national defense effort and the anti-Hitler policy of the Administration.

A consistent and ever sharper struggle against the appeaser-Hitlerite elements can proceed effectively only if the farming and small-town population are made to realize the real threat to national safety and the dire consequences to them of a Hitler victory in any part of the world. Many of them will retain their prejudices against the Soviet Union or various forms of Anglophobia but they can be made to understand that both England and the Soviet Union are fighting the battle for the American people as well, that these are first-line defenses for the Americas which the people of this country have to maintain in every possible way. The suffering of the farmers since the first World War will be as nothing compared with the hardships which will fall to the farmers as the result of the loss of markets, the depressed standards of living and the loss of freedoms which would result from a Hitler victory—let alone the impetus to fascism at home which such a victory would impart.

The foreign policy of the Administration and the orientation toward

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a farm program of abundant production for national defense, which has been provided by President Roosevelt and is now in the process of development, offer the basis upon which the farmers can be mobilized to play their proper role in the national front of the American people. While organizing the greatest support for this program and at the same time seeking to implement and develop it further, the main blows have to be struck against the appeaser-Hitlerite forces and all elements which seek to sabotage the national effort for production. In this connection it is necessary to rise above the disagreements and differences which derived from the old program of scarcity and which still appear in the form of hangovers from former struggles. Attitudes and methods of struggle of the recent period have to be re-examined in the light of seeking to extend the basis of cooperation between the farmers, the Administration, labor and all forces working for national unity and the defeat of Hitlerism.

Labor can play a role of first importance in helping to unify the farmers and bring them into common actions with the whole people for national unity. Certainly, labor cannot afford to ignore the great battle which is now going on between the pro-Hitler and the anti-Hitler forces to influence and win the farmers. This is a central problem for the whole people, for precisely here is being waged the struggle for the support of the largest and most important section of the American middle class. Here, to a large extent, is being determined the course which America shall pursue, whether our country is to fall under fascist domination by forces operating simultaneously abroad and at home, or whether it is to throw its full weight on the scales against fascism.

It is therefore incumbent upon trade unionists that they take cognizance of the farmers and their problems and seek to establish the closest relations with them and their organizations. It would be appropriate for the state and local organizations of labor to add their voice of support to the program of maximum production in agriculture, as in defense industry, and at the same time draw the farmers together with all anti-Hitler forces into joint action for the national anti-Hitler front and against the camp of appeasement. To save our country and the world from fascist barbarism and slavery, the American worker and farmer must together form the firm core and heart of America's National Front against Hitler and his accomplices within.

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THE NATIONAL GROUPS IN THE NATIONAL FRONT

BY A. LANDY

I. The War and the National Groups

HITLER'S attack against the Soviet Union has had a profound effect upon tens of millions of Americans whose countries of origin have been conquered and enslaved by the Nazis. Even before this attack, with Hitler conquering whole countries at a time in rapid succession, the greater part of America's national groups had come to hate the Nazis as the enslavers of the peoples from whom these groups stemmed.

Totaling as many as 40,000,000 people, these Americans of comparatively recent European immigration or descent constitute a tremendous reservoir of support for the Administration's foreign policy of aid to all peoples resisting Hitler. Because of their twofold relation to the war, as Americans and as national groups concerned about the fate of their European kin, they are more sensitive and alert to the meaning of national enslavement at Hitler's hands. They can thus play a vanguard role in helping to arouse the whole country to a realization of the danger facing it and the need of full participation in the struggle to bring about the military defeat of Hitler.

In addition to helping the country understand its tasks in the present world crisis, the national groups are a decisive factor in assuring maximum production for defense, since they are mainly workers in the key defense industries with a high degree of trade union organization. For all these reasons they constitute an important source of national unity, a fact which President Roosevelt correctly emphasized when he greeted the declaration of loyalty by the recent convention of the Sons of Italy as

"a challenge to those totalitarians who profess to see in our groups of various nationalities a threat to national unity. . . ."

The task, of course, is to draw the necessary conclusions that follow from this correct estimate of the national groups. And the very first conclusion is that a force so strong in its hatred for Hitler can make a special contribution to the unification of the country in a national front of resistance to Nazi conquest, provided it is utilized and encouraged and its influence is brought to bear upon the whole nation. Second, these groups must be helped to

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smash the pro-Nazi forces in their own ranks. The government must cease opening the gates to Hitler's secret agents and drive out those already here. It must break off diplomatic relations with the Axis puppet governments and close up their legations as organizing centers of national disunity. Third, a stop must be put to all persecution and discrimination against the foreign-born and national groups as undemocratic practices which only play into the hands of the appeasers and serve reactionary anti-labor designs. Finally, the trade unions and national group organizations themselves must turn the national sentiments of their members into a positive force for promoting labor unity and labor leadership in the struggle to forge the anti-Hitler front.

From the viewpoint of the war, the national groups may be divided into three categories: those originating in the anti-Nazi countries, occupied and unoccupied; those originating in the Axis and Axis-allied countries; and those originating in the neutral countries. The first category comprises twenty-one national groups with a population of approximately 15,000,000 to 20,000,000. The second consists of eight national groups, including the Spanish, with a population of about 13,000,000. The third has two main groups, the Irish and Swedish, with a population of approximately 5,500,000.

There are of course no hard and fast boundaries between these three categories, especially since the masses in all three are unquestionably democratic in sentiment. But the distinction has the merit of emphasizing the specific effect each country naturally has on its corresponding national group in the United States. In this respect, the first category indicates a powerful source of anti-Nazi strength and shows where work *can* be done by the forces striving for national unity against Hitler. The second and third categories indicate where work *must* be done in order to deprive the appeasers and pro-Nazi traitors of any possible source of strength.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to assume that the Axis and Axis-allied countries constitute one harmonious group. The masses of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Finland and Spain are definitely anti-Nazi, and their corresponding national groups in the United States are equally hostile to Hitler. As for the Italian and German Americans, they naturally sympathize with the people of their countries of origin, but, in the main, they are no partisans of Mussolini or Hitler.

The Rumanian-Americans, for example, were overwhelmingly pro-British prior to Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union, and now their chief desire is to secure Rumania's withdrawal from the war. The Hungarian masses in America, having originally fled from German Hapsburg persecution, have no love for the new German conqueror. This hatred for Hitler is so great that the agents of the Nazi puppet government in Hungary are forced to pretend that they are simply pro-Horthy and not pro-Hitler.

The Slovak masses are overwhelmingly in sympathy with the Soviet Union and regard Hitler's attack against the largest Slav coun-

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try as an attack against all Slav peoples. This is true also of the large Catholic population among the Slovaks; and even those small groups generally regarded as pro-Nazi because of their support of the "new" Slovakia declare that they are anti-Hitler and ask only for recognition of an independent Slovak nation. The Bulgarian population in America is likewise thoroughly sympathetic to the Slav Soviet Union and may be regarded as ardent partisans of the anti-Hitler struggle.

The Finnish-American masses are deeply concerned about the fate of their country of origin. But the bulk of the Finnish-American press is viciously anti-Soviet and pro-Nazi, and with the help of the Finnish Minister to the United States, Hjalmar J. Procope, attempts to conceal the real status of Finland as a Nazi colony. The Administration's continued recognition of Hitler's Finnish puppets, in violation of its whole anti-Hitler policy, only helps these Nazi agents to maintain their "democratic" pose.

As for the Spanish population in the United States, it is completely anti-Nazi and is only waiting for leadership to unite on a nation-wide scale for active participation in the struggle against Hitler.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to ignore or underestimate the menace of pro-Hitler activities among the national groups originating in the Axis-allied countries. These activities are well camouflaged and consist of at least three main types:

1. To avoid identification with Hitler, his agents are ready to speak out against him, while making their appeal in the name of his puppet, as among the Hungarians.

2. To gain support for the Nazi "New Order," they play upon the national aspirations of those peoples who were victims of national oppression even before the war, as among the Slovaks and Croatians.

3. To disrupt the democratic front, they appeal to anti-Soviet sentiments, taking advantage of two years of misrepresentation about the true nature of Finnish-Soviet relations, or they concentrate among the Lithuanian Americans, utilizing the Smetonas to create confusion and resistance to the President's foreign policy of aid to the Soviet Union and the peoples fighting Hitler.

Unfortunately, Hitler is often helped by the anti-Hitler forces themselves as a result of some of their own policies. This is the case among the Czechoslovaks when Benes' Czech forces insist that there is only one nation, a Czechoslovak nation, and refuse to recognize the national aspirations and right of self-determination of the Slovaks. The same is true of the Yugoslavs, where the failure of the "Yugoslav" tendency to acknowledge the Croations as a national entity only calls forth a "pure Croatianism" tendency dividing the victims of Hitler enslavement and opening the doors to the agents of the pro-Axis Pavelich traitors.

The most outstanding development since June 22 has been among the Slav groups. A tidal wave of hatred for the Nazi aggressor and sympathy for the Soviet Union has surged through the 15,000,000 peo-

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ple of Slav origin in the United States. The pacts signed between the Soviet Government and the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments in exile as well as the original pact between the Yugoslavs and the Soviet Union broke down the main barriers separating the leading Slav nations and laid the basis for uniting these important sections of the people in the United States in a single front of struggle against Hitler. Together these Slav groups constitute the largest single group of nationalities in the country, and to unite them in one anti-Hitler bloc would be to create one of the strongest contingents of the national front in the United States. For, aside from its numerical significance, it has an even greater strategic importance arising from its predominantly working class composition. Employed in such decisive defense industries as mining, steel, auto and packing, and constituting a large part of the trade union membership of the country, these groups can obviously play an important role in assuring vigorous labor leadership in the struggle to defeat Hitler.

Prior to June 22 the issues of the European war tended to divide the national groups in the United States. Only the domestic issues offered an immediate basis of united action. Today, it is no longer true that European issues divide and American issues unite. The one issue that can unite the largest number of national groups within themselves and jointly is the issue of foreign policy, the struggle for the liberation and independence of their countries of origin from Hitler domination, a result which can only be attained by the military defeat of Nazi Germany. Today "European issues" unite and form the basis for real national unity in defense of the United States itself.

II. What the National Front is for the National Groups

Even before the character of the war was transformed by the involvement of the Soviet Union, the countries of nearly all of Europe were faced with the task of regaining their national independence. The imperialist war had brought nothing but national enslavement to one country after another.

Even England and France, as a result of the Munich policies and aims of the ruling classes, were exposed to a loss of national independence and to enslavement by the Nazis. The French ruling class actually betrayed France to Hitler, preferring national subjugation to loss of its class privileges at the hands of a victorious French people. As a result, the British people were confronted with the task of keeping their own Munichmen from selling out the nation to Hitler without supporting the imperialist war aims of the Churchill government. Thus, in the midst of an imperialist war, especially after the surrender of France in June, 1940, the defense of the nation against fascism at home and abroad emerged as the central problem before the British people, a problem which could only be solved by a people's government that would put an end to the im-

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perialist aims of the British ruling circles, establish a close alliance with the Soviet Union and the peoples enslaved by the Nazi conquerors and continue the struggle for liberation should its peace proposals be rejected.

But the question of national independence was particularly acute for the Balkan countries. Because of their proximity to the Soviet Union, they were in a good position to safeguard their independence. They could have escaped the orbit of the imperialist war by allying themselves with the peaceful Soviets, but their reactionary ruling cliques preferred national treason to such a course, and Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia were turned over to Hitler.

When the people of Yugoslavia repudiated this treachery by overthrowing the government and established close ties with the Soviet Union, they were compelled to defend themselves against the infuriated Nazi hordes that then overran the country. There could be no doubt that they were waging a just war to preserve their national independence. The same was true of the Greek people, who rushed to repel the invasion by Italian fascism and later by the Nazi armies, despite the fact that the Greek ruling class had sought to tie the fate of Greece to the British side in the imperialist war.

It was obvious that in the world relation of forces the Balkans occupied a special significance in relation to the Soviet Union. Events in the Balkan countries could not be judged without regard to their bearing on Soviet security, just as the existence of the Soviet Union was bound to be a powerful factor in assuring the future independence of the Balkan peoples. In face of the increasing threat against the independence of the Soviet Union registered with each new advance by the Nazis in the Balkans, Greece and Yugoslavia represented two points of resistance to Nazi conquest the importance of which could hardly be underrated. By endorsing this resistance and recognizing its justness, despite the fact that the British were also using Greece as a battleground, the Soviet Union was expressing its own determination to resist national enslavement by the Nazis, who were clearly out to conquer the world, and at the same time was encouraging the struggle for national independence where such a struggle promised to be more than a mere cover for gains by one of the parties to the imperialist war.

Thus, already within the orbit of the imperialist war, and produced by it, not only the problem of national independence was posed with an acuteness and immediacy and on a scale never witnessed before, but there developed just wars of national liberation which derived their vitality from the existence of the non-imperialist Soviet Union and the relation of their struggle to it. For, without the overwhelming factor of the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav and Greek peoples unquestionably would have been fighting for their national existence, but that fight would have remained an insignificant aspect of the bigger imperialist war, with the justness of their cause completely lost in the unjust

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war of the big imperialist powers dominating these small countries.

This struggle for national independence led to efforts to establish anti-Nazi national fronts in all the Balkan countries even prior to June 22. Rumania had been occupied by German troops October 3, 1940. Greece was invaded by Italy, Oct. 28, 1940, and conquered by the Nazis April 27, 1941. Bulgaria was occupied by the German army March 1, 1941, and Yugoslavia was signed over to the Axis on March 25, 1941. In all these countries, the masses sought to establish a national front in defense of their independence and for friendship with the Soviet Union, but they were either unable or acted too late to prevent the betrayal of their countries by the ruling clique of national treason.

The Communists especially strove to weld the population throughout the Balkans into a national front directed against Nazi enslavement.

In Yugoslavia, the Communists played an important part in rallying the masses for the overthrow of the Cvetkovich government when it signed the country over to Hitler. They sought to unite all the peoples of Yugoslavia in one national front on the basis of complete equality and the recognition of each one's right of self-determination. And when the Nazis invaded Yugoslavia, they joined in the war against the Nazi aggressors, calling upon the people to defend their country.

In Greece, despite repression by the Metaxes regime, when Italian fascism invaded the country, the Communists supported the people in the defense of their independence, while warning against the Metaxes dictatorship and the bourgeois-monarchist cliques connected with both imperialist camps.

In Rumania, the Communists rallied the people against the national treason of the degenerate capitalist and landlord cliques, and strove to unite all elements belonging to the nation and willing to defend it in a national front for the liberation of their country from German domination and for friendship with the Soviet Union.

In Bulgaria, the people refused to bow to the agents of foreign enslavement, despite brutal suppression and police terror, and demanded an alliance with the Soviet Union. Only the occupation by the German army was able to temporarily paralyze the popular revolt and drive it underground. But the Workers Party of Bulgaria did not give up its efforts to unite all the national forces to liberate the country from economic subjugation and national enslavement.

For the corresponding national groups in the United States the problem was how to support such national liberation struggles and especially the just war of the Yugoslav and Greek peoples without turning this into support for the war aims of Anglo-American imperialism. Nevertheless, the basic task remained the organization of a national front of all forces ready to aid the struggle for the national independence of their country of origin.

After June 22, with the transformation in the character of the war, the most serious obstacles to the realization of such fronts were

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eliminated. The change in the international situation that followed Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union brought the United States directly into the line of danger from Hitler's drive to conquer the world. Under the circumstances, the need for such fronts merged with the need of forging a national front to defend the independence of the United States against the menace of Hitlerism. Thus, not only did new possibilities open up for the development of national fronts among the national groups, but the organization of these fronts could only facilitate the formation of an all-American front of which they are a part.

What is the special distinguishing feature of the national front among the national groups? It is the fact that the issue around which the national groups can unite is the liberation of their countries of origin from Nazi enslavement. The national group masses in the United States are part of the American nation, but they are also related to the peoples who have been deprived of their national independence or are in danger of losing it. The members of the national group identify themselves with these peoples and correctly regard themselves as still part of such *peoples*, even though they are an organic part of the American *nation*. One after another, they have seen their countries of origin subjugated by Hitler; they have watched them lose their independence as a nation and face the threat of extinction as a people. How to help them preserve their existence and restore their national independence is thus the first concern of these national groups and all elements loyal to their people, regardless of their economic status or class position.

It is obvious, of course, that unity on this issue can only strengthen their determination to defend their American homeland. For the way they can best achieve their objective is to support the President's foreign policy, activizing the whole national group population behind it to guarantee that the United States throws it whole strength into the struggle to defeat Hitler. But the specific character of the national front among the national groups requires an immediate program bearing directly on the desire of the national groups to aid their countries of origin. Such a program must revolve around two types of activities: (1) the collection of funds and medical supplies to aid the forces fighting against Hitler, particularly the forces of their own nationalities, and (2) all those practical measures that will help directly to encourage the development of the third front in the occupied and conquered countries, ranging from short wave anti-Nazi broadcasts to providing volunteers for the armies of liberation. For those national groups originating in the Axis-allied countries, the main task is to unite around the demand for withdrawal of their countries of origin from the war of conquest and enslavement. As for the national groups originating in the neutral countries, such as the Irish, the national front must be built on the basis of the recognition that the only way these countries can preserve their independence is by

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aligning themselves with the world anti-Nazi camp to assure the military defeat of Hitler.

III. Obstacles in the Way of Unity

The national objective is unquestionably the defeat of Hitler. This is also the objective of the national group masses in the United States. But there are still many obstacles retarding the unification of the national groups for the achievement of this task.

First among these obstacles must be listed the weaknesses and deficiencies in the government's own policy toward the national groups. Despite the President's recognition that they are a source of national unity, the Administration has failed to take full advantage of this for its foreign policy by boldly encouraging the national groups to speak up and unite for the defeat of Hitler, and it is common knowledge that the national groups need such encouragement. On the other hand, the Administration has often increased the difficulties of the anti-Nazi majority in many of the national groups by allowing concealed Nazi agents to enter the country and sow disunity in their ranks. The Administration must stop encouraging such enemies of national unity against Hitler and drive out those already here. The President has correctly said we have a war to win; and, to rally the national groups for this war against Hitler, it is necessary to break with all remnants of a non-democratic attitude toward them and with all Hitler-like efforts to condemn them to an inferior status in the nation. This means the complete elimination of all job discrimination against Americans of foreign birth and full enforcement of the President's executive order barring such discrimination in defense industries. It means eliminating all delay in the naturalization of non-citizens and putting an end to the reactionary pastime of revoking or jeopardizing citizenship for activities in the trade union or political labor movement. It means, finally, assuring the defeat of all alien-baiting legislation now before Congress, such as the Hobbs concentration camp bill (H.R. 3), the Allen bill (H.R. 4861) and the Disney bill (H.R. 5149) all sponsored by anti-union forces and friends of Hitler in the United States and aimed at the trade union movement, with its large national group membership.

The second obstacle to the speedy development of the national front among the national groups is red-baiting, modified by the new world situation, to be sure, but still strong enough to constitute a serious barrier to unity. It is particularly striking among those groups where complete unification is most feasible, as for example among the Serbs and Czechoslovaks. The Serbs, whose small population in this country is wholeheartedly in sympathy with the Soviet Union, are well on the way to unity, but they are still hampered by the theory of "parallelism" acording to which the Serbian National Federation and the Left-Wing forces should pursue separate though parallel paths leading to the same goal. Fortunately, the desire for

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unity is so strong among the masses that it leaves little room for such theories, rendering them inoperative from sheer lack of support.

Among the Czechoslovaks, the manifestation of red-baiting has so far been of a more stubborn and drastic character, although here too evidence is accumulating that the force of events and the pressure of the masses are gradually compelling the leaders of the Czechoslovak National Alliance to modify their stand. Up till now, these leaders have welcomed the new Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact, but have persisted in refusing to cooperate with the relatively large and influential left-wing movement in the United States, preferring to treat its members as traitors to the Czechoslovak people because they have consistently supported the Soviet Union.

The folly of such an attitude is indicated by simple arithmetic. The weakest link in the Czechoslovak liberation movement is among the Slovaks, with only 6,000 in the Czechoslovak National Alliance as compared with at least 12,000 in the Left movement and 200,000 Catholics who are outside the orbit of the Benes movement. Plain common sense dictates the need for unity with the considerably larger Left-wing force for the purpose of winning the great majority of the Slovak Catholics who otherwise are left to the mercies of the agents of Hitler's puppet government in Slovakia under the impression that the Slovaks have finally attained national independence. To permit old hostilities and suspicions to endure in the new situation with its new conditions and new tasks only weakens the fight for liberation at a time when it needs to be strongest. The greatest mistake that any Czechoslovak leader could make at the present time would be to underestimate the strength of the pro-Hitler forces or to fail to realize that the only force strong enough to defeat them is the unity of absolutely *all* national elements having the will to fight until victory is assured.

Unfortunately, the red-baiting obstacle to national unity is not confined to one or two national groups.

However, a third and equally serious obstacle to such unity has been the persistent sectarianism of the Communists themselves. They have made creditable contributions to the movement for unity among seven or eight national groups but these have been more in the nature of beginnings than of final achievements. And yet, even in these instances, they have tended to work too much in the old way and at the old tempo, not fully realizing the magnitude of the task involved nor the responsibility resting upon them. Above all, they have been slow to grasp the full meaning of the national front and, failing to be sufficiently clear as to its basis, they have not always been able to appreciate its broad character. As a result, they failed to estimate or properly appreciate their own role in this front.

This has been the source of most of the sectarian errors which have prevented the Communist and Left-wing forces from making their maximum contribution to the development of the national front. With all possible forces to be brought together in the national

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front, each representing a different degree of experience in cooperation and a different level of understanding of the issue at stake, it is the task of the Communists to play the role of unifying force, helping all groups to rise above differences on secondary questions. Because the Communists did not always remember this, they tended to fall victim to the sectarianism of other forces taking part in the process of unification, thereby narrowing down the basis of the national front rather than constantly broadening it to include all elements of the national group ready to join in the liberation struggle against Hitler.

As a result, they put themselves in a position where, instead of resolving the sharp differences that were keeping various groups apart, they were themselves taking sides and in reality becoming the tail to one of the factions involved. In this connection, there has also been the tendency to lose sight of the main political question, the all-compelling reason for unity, placing questions of prestige and administrative position in the forefront or permitting the struggle for office among different individuals to interfere with the needs of unity. This led to the much more serious and fundamental error of overlooking the national differences underlying the clash of groups, such as the Croats and Serbs, and the Slovaks and Czechs, tending to repel important elements of the national front and confusing them with the enemy.

The Communists cannot play the role of unifying force without also, in many instances, assuming the role of initiator and organizer of unity. But this has not always been understood, with the result that weeks have been lost waiting for other groups to act. Experience has shown us that mere desire for unity does not automatically result in unity. Without presuming to act for others or to arrogate leadership to themselves, the Communists must nevertheless work hard and earnestly and make maximum use of their organizational experience and initiative in order to assure that a vigorous, active national front is actually established.

One of the main reasons for this inexcusable loss of time, however, has been a sectarian hesitation to approach various individuals and groups with whom unity is essential or to recognize that all elements must have a place in the national front, regardless of their past or present political line-up or position, provided they are ready to join in the struggle for national independence and the defeat of Hitler. Among the Poles, for example, there was an original tendency to reject the Sikorskiites and even to direct the main fire against them because the Sikorski Government had not yet officially withdrawn its declaration of war against the Soviet Union. The Soviet-Polish Pact that was signed later, of course, automatically corrected this sectarian position. Among the Serbs similar hesitations have been manifested in relation to the Simovich Government. In this respect, some of the strongest sectarian manifestations are to be found among the Czech Left-wing forces who tend to resist rapprochement with the Benes-Martinek forces. It is true

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that the intransigeant anti-Communist stand of these forces has not made it easier for the Left-wing to overcome its own sectarianism, but Martinek is already beginning to recognize that it is impossible to repeat the experience of old Czechoslovakia and that there must be unity regardless of religious and political beliefs.

Another form of sectarianism has been particularly prominent among Jewish Left-wing Communist circles who have had to contend with strong provocation on the part of Social-Democrats. Instead of meeting this by means of a positive line which places the tasks of unity above everything else, they have tended to fall victim to this provocation, concentrating on polemics at a time when polemics can only weaken the struggle for national unity. Connected with this have been expressions of an impermissible self-righteousness in relation to elements seeking to establish unity. There could be no greater mistake than the failure to realize that all elements belonging to the anti-Hitler national front have prejudices and impediments to overcome on the way to unity, and that the task is to make it easier rather than harder for them to approach one another.

Finally, there is the sectarianism that arises from the failure to realize the importance of the struggle for national independence, falsely posing working class tasks against national tasks. History demonstrates that there has always been the closest connection between the interests of the working class and national independence, a connection particularly prominent in the historical background of most of the national groups in the U.S. Marx and Engels always regarded national independence as a precondition for the development of a strong workers' movement. Engels' remarks on this question made in 1882 are very timely today and offer the best answer to this type of sectarianism.

"For a great people," he said apropos of the Polish struggle for independence, "it is historically impossible to discuss any domestic question in a serious way as long as it has no national independence. . . . An international movement of the proletariat is possible at all only among independent nations. . . . As long as Poland is partitioned and subjugated, no strong Socialist Party can develop inside the country. . . . Every Polish peasant and worker who rises to the point of participation in the general interests runs up against the fact of national subjugation as the first obstacle meeting him on every hand. To eliminate it is a basic condition of every healthy and free development. Polish Socialists who do not place the liberation of their country at the head of their program are like German Socialists who would fail to raise as their very first demand the abolition of the Anti-Socialist Law and freedom of the press, association and assembly. To be able to fight, one must first have soil, air, light and elbow room. Under no circumstances is it *our* task to hold the Poles back from winning living conditions for their further development or to convince them that national independence is, from the international viewpoint, a very secondary matter, when, quite the contrary, it is the basis of all inter-

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national cooperation." (Letter to Kautsky, February 7-15, 1882).

This does not exhaust all the sectarian manifestations among the Left-wing and Communist forces in the national groups. But enough has been said to indicate that the greatest responsibility rests upon these forces to overcome such sectarian obstacles to national unity with the utmost speed. It is up to the Communists to develop the fullest clarity on the nature and meaning of the national front and to wage a ruthless political struggle against every tendency in their own ranks to retard or impede its quick realization.

This will also help to overcome another serious obstacle to the establishment of the national front among the national groups, the undeveloped state of labor leadership in this all-important task. The national groups are composed mainly of workers, large numbers of whom are in the mass trade unions. Should these working class forces and actives take the leadership, they would help the rest of the national group population to move faster. At the same time, they would help the trade unions and the organized labor movement increase the quality and extent of their own leadership in the present critical situation. And yet, only one or two national groups have developed any serious trade union committees for this purpose. The best example to date is the Polish-American trade union committee in Detroit, which has already rallied 100 organizations of twenty-two different nationalities in support of the President's foreign policy. Such committees need to be multiplied in every important center and every major national group.

IV. The Appeasers and the National Groups

The national groups have been made the object of attention both by the appeasers of Hitler and Hitler's direct agents. The Nazis are actually concentrating their fifth-column activities among such groups as the Lithuanians, Hungarians and Ukrainians, sending in their agents under various pretexts. Many months ago, the State Department admitted such an outright Nazi agent as Smetona, former fascist president of Lithuania who fled to Nazi Germany when the Lithuanian people voted to join the Soviet Union. The Nazis actually financed and sponsored the activities of Smetona and his group, a fact recorded even by the anti-Communist press in this country, and yet the State Department permitted Smetona to come to the United States and carry on his subversive activities among the Lithuanian-American population, which consists mainly of workers employed in packing, steel, mining and other key defense industries. Following the Nazi attack upon the Soviet Union, Smetona actually dared to speak out in favor of Hitler.

More recently, the State Department admitted another ill-concealed Nazi agent, this time from Hungary. The character of this individual, who poses as an anti-Nazi, is fully exposed in an article entitled "Budapest's Fake Mission" in the *Nation* of September 27. A Hun-

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garian Member of Parliament and a relative of Admiral Horthy's family, this man, whose name is Tibor de Eckhardt and whose record of fascist activities is common knowledge in all diplomatic circles, could not have left Hungary without consent of the Horthy Government or the secret approval of the Gestapo. And yet, according to the reactionary Hungarian daily paper in New York, Eckhardt is being received in high American political and diplomatic circles, and the *Nation* article reports that he has twice conferred with Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles. His mission in the United States, he explains, is the formation of a united front of all people of Hungarian nationality or origin to support an independent and democratic Hungary, apparently a new-fangled method of insurance against an Axis defeat while working overtime for an Axis victory.

Hitler's agents attempt to operate through various channels and under various disguises. The Ukrainian nationalists are one of these channels. They are controlled by a fascist group which previously gave open support to Hitler's policy. Today, in the changed situation, they seek to maintain their Nazi ideology under the cloak of democracy. The American Hungarian Federation is another channel. This Federation was originally projected and organized by the Horthy Government in 1938 as part of the Hungarian fascist World Federation. It operates through top leaders of a number of large Hungarian fraternal organizations. The Lithuanian nationalist, Socialist and clerical press also provides an avenue for Hitler. These papers have expressed joy that "Hitler has freed Lithuania." Viciously anti-Soviet, they make avid use of the Nazi propaganda material emanating from Berlin.

Other channels are provided by the supporters of the Tiso Government, Hitler's creation in Slovakia, and the handful of Croatians who support the Pavelich Government, Hitler's puppet in Croatia through the agency of Mussolini. The activities of the Finnish Minister to the United States, Hjalmar Procope and the pro-Hitler character of the bulk of the Finnish press have already been mentioned in this article.

These anti-democratic activities are backed up by the efforts of the appeasers of Hitler. The appeasers have not neglected the national groups, seeking support mainly among those groups whose countries of origin belong to the Axis camp—Germans, Italians, Finns, Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, but also among the Irish.

The America First appeasers have so far followed five lines of approach to the national groups. First, they have tried to win support among such groups as Italians and Germans in the name of keeping America out of war, branding Churchill as "a greater menace to the peace of American boys than Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini," and taking advantage of the discrimination of which these groups have been the victim. Second, they have tried to win the Irish by appealing to their hatred of British imperialism, their traditional isolationism and their religious feelings.

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Thus, Rev. John O'Brien of Notre Dame University declared at an America First rally in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 19 that President Roosevelt was giving "the hard-earned money of American taxpayers by the bushel basket to the British," while the Irish "could not even buy suitable arms to defend their democracy." Third, they have resorted to a wholesale use of anti-Semitism, which is widespread among many national groups, the fraudulent motion picture investigation headed by Senator Nye providing merely the latest and most dramatic expression of this. Fourth, they have sought to intimidate supporters of President Roosevelt's foreign policy in Congress by attacking them as representatives of foreign-born gangsters, as in the case of Congressman Clare E. Hoffman's attack on Lesinski's Polish-American Congressman from Michigan. And fifth, they have tried to impugn the patriotism of the anti-Nazi forces among the national groups because of their concern for the people from whom they stem, as in the September 24 statement of the America First Committee which "invited men and women of every race, religion and national origin" to join its ranks "provided only that they are patriotic citizens who put the interests of their country ahead of any other nation."

In this last point we have the measure of the appeasers' whole treachery and demagogic perfidy. The loyalty of the national groups to their peoples, which the appeasers reject, is a source of strength for American democracy. It is directed against the enslavement by Hitler, the greatest menace to the independence of every nation and people on earth. It is an allegiance to national independence and freedom, which only enemies of America's own independence and freedom can regard as incompatible with loyalty to the American nation. By rejecting that which can only be regarded as a quality no matter where it is displayed, the appeasers merely provide the measure of their own national betrayal.

However, the appeasers showed their hand most brazenly in their Nazi-inspired attack upon the Jewish people in connection with the so-called movie "investigation." Testifying on September 9 before the Senate Interstate Commerce Subcommittee to determine whether there should be a movie investigation, Senator Nye declared that a small group of motion picture producers "all born abroad and animated by the persecutions and hatreds of the old world" are injecting pro-war propaganda into American films for financially selfish and "non-American" reasons. Those primarily responsible for this propaganda, according to Nye were "four names, each that of one of the Jewish faith, each one foreign-born." His testimony referred many times to the foreign birth of the movie producers, repeatedly charging that "some are citizens, others owe their loyalty to their native lands." (*N.Y. Times* and *Herald Tribune*, Sept. 10, 1941.)

This maneuver, which revealed the extent to which the appeasers are in the service of Hitler, was

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only a dramatic denouement of a line consciously pursued by them. For, as early as February, 1941, Senator Wheeler, in one of his speeches, denounced "political control by a financial oligarchy" which he plainly implied was Jewish. On August 1, Senator Nye, in his St. Louis speech, undertook to name some of the men who are "pushing and hauling America to plunge us into this war," and who are "putting up the money for all this propaganda." He selected seventeen men prominent in the motion picture industry, all with Jewish-sounding names, carefully omitting the names of non-Jewish executives. On September 6, the America First statement appearing in the *Daily News*, in citing those who were attacking it, singled out as examples, in addition to the British-born Dr. Frank Kingdom, three Jews and a speaker before the Jewish War Veterans. Five days later, Col. Lindbergh followed with his shameless appeal to anti-Semitism in his Des Moines, Iowa, speech. Obviously, the succeeding motion picture "investigation" by the appeasers, with its attack upon the Jews and foreign-born, was no accident. As the *Herald Tribune* declared in its editorial of September 17, "the evidence that [the appeasers] leaders are deliberately taking up this despicable, disruptive and profoundly inhuman and un-American weapon [of anti-Semitism] to bolster a lost cause is too strong to be disregarded; and there is no non-Jewish American deserving the name who will not turn from that business with loathing."

In view of the fact that the appeasers are resorting to anti-Semitism as one of their chief weapons, the struggle against anti-Semitism becomes of decisive importance in any effort to range the national groups in the national front against Hitler. To fail to combat anti-Semitism among the national groups at this time is to turn them over to the mercies of the appeasers, exposing all efforts toward national group unity to the most serious danger. For while anti-Semitism is ostensibly aimed at only one national group, no national group can escape the deadly effect of its poison once it is permitted to spread.

The use of anti-Semitism and "alien-baiting" against the national groups is intended by the appeasers as a means of breaking up mass support for the President's foreign policy. But the extent to which the attack on the national groups is also an attack on organized labor is shown by the crude and offensive abuse heaped upon the Polish-American Congressman Lesinski by the reactionary Congressman Clare E. Hoffman from Michigan. It shows that the appeasers not only have anti-Semitism in common with Hitler, but that they also have an affinity with him in their hatred of labor.

On August 14, Hoffman attacked Lesinski's support of the President's foreign policy, calling the Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian and other constituents that elected Lesinski "a lot of foreigners." "I say," Hoffman declared, "that if you have not got a lot of foreigners in your district, if you have true native born Americans, the backbone of this

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country, who believe in the principles on which our Government was founded, they will take you out in the woodshed and put you over a barrel. Make no mistake of that." (*Congressional Record,* September 18, 1941, p. 7669). On September 18 Hoffman tried to defend this reactionary outburst with another statement cut out of the same cloth, attacking Lesinski as a C.I.O. man. Lesinski, he declared, wants to use him as a whipping boy. "Well," Hoffman continued, "he is welcome. My hide is thick, and I welcome any criticism from the C.I.O. or the labor racketeers or the gangsters from Detroit, of whom I am happy to say the gentleman is not one, but who constitute so large a proportion of those who send him here." (*Cong. Rec.,* p. 7672).

More significant, in the last analysis, than this revelation of the true physiognomy of an appeaser, is the information provided by Lesinski in his speech that the Hungarians who constitute the majority of voters in his 16th district in Detroit stand "like a rock . . . behind President Roosevelt and his friends who do everything to defend the nation against outside enemies" and that the Rumanians in his district repudiated the action of the Rumanian Government in lining up with Hitler and "stated that the Rumanians are 100 percent" with President Roosevelt's foreign policy.

V. All-Slav Unity

Before concluding this article, it is necessary to make a few remarks about all-Slav unity. And the very first thing that has to be emphasized is that all-Slav unity is not pan-Slavism and can have nothing in common with it. The Slav groups in the United States fully realize this, as can be seen from the response to the appeal of the All-Slav Conference, held in Moscow on August 10, by circles that have been most rabidly anti-Soviet in the past. Despite the survival of pan-Slavist notions in certain reactionary quarters, the historical basis for pan-Slavism disappeared when the great October Revolution swept tsarism into the dustbin of history in 1917.

Pan-Slavism was the reactionary policy of tsarist imperialism which sought to utilize the aspirations for national independence of the Slav peoples oppressed by the Turkish and Austrian empires to promote its own imperialist designs. Engels, in his letter of 1882 already referred to in this article, took great pains to establish this point and for that reason it is worth quoting his comment at length.

"Pan-Slavism," he said, "is a world-domination fraud under the cloak of a non-existing *Slavic* nationality, and our worst enemy as well as the worst enemy of the Russians. This fraud will disintegrate in good time, but meanwhile it can become very unpleasant for us. A pan-Slavist war, as the final hope for salvation of Russian tsarism and Russian reaction, is being prepared at this very moment. Whether it will occur is very questionable, but if it does occur, one thing is quite certain: that the splendid development along revolutionary lines in Germany, Austria and Russia itself will be completely upset and diverted into other, at present un-

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predictable channels. At best we shall lose three to ten years, a respite for a constitutional 'new era' in Germany and perhaps also Russia, a small Poland under German hegemony, a war of revenge with France, new incitement of peoples, and finally a new Holy Alliance would be the probable result.

"Pan-Slavism is therefore now more than ever our mortal enemy, despite the fact that it is on the verge of the grave or just because of it. For the Katkoffs, Aksakoffs, Ignatieffs & Co. know that their empire is through for good the moment that tsarism is overthrown and the Russian people enter the stage. And that is why they are so eager for war at a moment when the treasury is empty and no banker will advance a penny to the Russian Government.

"That is just the reason why all pan-Slavists have such undying hatred for the Poles: they are the only anti-pan-Slavist Slavs, hence traitors to the sacred cause of Slavdom, and must be influenced by force in the Greater-Slav tsarist empire whose future capital is Tsarigrad, that is, Constantinople.

"Of course you might ask whether I don't have any sympathy for the small Slav peoples and splinters who are divided by the three wedges driven into Slavdom: the German, Hungarian and Turkish? Actually, damned little. The Czechoslovak cry 'O God, there is no one left in the world to do justice to the Slavs,' has been replied to from Petersburg and the whole Czech national movement looks for justice *from the Tsar*. The same is true of the others: Serbs, Bulgarians, Slovenians, Galician Ruthenians (at least in part). But we cannot come out for these aims. Only when, through the collapse of tsarism, the national aspirations of these small peoples are freed from fusion with pan-Slavist world-domination tendencies—only then can we let them act freely. . . ."

From Engels' remarks we can see that the Marxist movement always opposed pan-Slavism. The idea of pan-Slavism first appeared at the beginning of the 19th century in the historical literature of the various Slav peoples. It assumed different forms. One aspired to the spiritual unity of the Slav peoples on the basis of the Greek Orthodox Church. This was obviously intended as a barrier to the spread of the Roman Catholic Church, which was making big headway among the Slav groups. A second conception of pan-Slavism revolved around the possibility of developing a common language for all Slavs. And a third thought in terms of a federation of all Slav nationalities.

These various conceptions of pan-Slavism finally crystalized into a well-defined imperial policy in 1842 when the Tsar's government adopted a pan-Slav program which proclaimed Russia as the center of all Slavdom and called upon all Slav countries and peoples to strive to become part of the Tsar's empire. Pan-Slavism thus became a weapon in the hands of Russian tsarism for the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian empire and for predatory designs on the rival Turkish empire. When German imperialism began to emerge after 1871, pan-Slavism was used by the Tsar to combat pan-Germanism. But, as noted by Engels, pan-Slavism was already on the decline by the end of the 19th century. Outside Russia, it found its sole support among the Orthodox clergy. It was brought to the United States by members of the

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Greek Orthodox clergy among the small Slav groups, but it had no support among the Russians, Ukrainians and Poles, and even among the smaller groups had no basis whatever among the immigrant masses.

It is indicative of the reactionary nature of pan-Slavism that some of its remaining advocates in the United States are unwilling to unite all Slavs against Hitlerism, and some even attack such unity openly. It also shows that all-Slav unity based upon the collaboration of equals is something altogether different from reactionary pan-Slavism that went to its grave with Russian tsarism.

In the 19th century the Slav people could not unite to liberate themselves from their Austrian and Turkish rulers without falling victim to the tsarist empire, which was actively striving to incorporate them into its own prison of nations. But today there is obviously an altogether different situation. There is not a single Slav nation that is not already enslaved or threatened with enslavement by Hitler. All of them are fighting for the preservation of their independence and the maintenance of their very character as Slav peoples. To unite all Slav peoples under such circumstances is not only an act of self-preservation but a positive act of progress, strengthening the forces of resistance to Hitlerism throughout the world.

Furthermore, it must be repeated that the Soviet Union is not tsarist Russia. Tsarist imperialism has been replaced by a socialist country envisaged by Engels. By cooperating with the Soviet Union as Slav peoples, the Slav nations are not in danger of losing their independence and becoming pawns in the hands of a big imperialist power. On the contrary, such cooperation is the most important condition for regaining their independence, and the relationship between them is that of equals. In the second place, for the small Slav nations to turn to the Soviet Union as the big Slav brother is not reactionary but progressive, since it can only strengthen the progressive strivings in each Slav nation. In the third place, all-Slav unity today is for the progressive purpose of defeating Hitler, who is bent upon world conquest, and even if the insignificant remnants of pan-Slavist notions should receive an impetus from such unity, they could hardly affect the character of all-Slav collaboration. Finally, it is neither chauvinist nor reactionary for the Slav peoples to seek to preserve their Slavdom and to resist Teutonization, which is equivalent to slavery at the hands of the Nazis.

The mobilization of the 15,000,000 Slavs in the United States in support of the just war of their peoples against Hitler is not only feasible but of the utmost significance for the development of the national front in this country. The nation-wide All-Slav Congress to be held November 21-23 will unquestionably prove to be a major contribution to this end.

VI. The National Groups and the Third Front

Each day brings inspiring news of the spreading fires of resistance to

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the Nazi occupationists. Norway, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Greece — country after country joins in a mounting wave of sabotage, defiance and resistance that promises to turn into a torrent of revolt. And as these acts of heroism multiply, they stir the national groups in America to their depths and arouse in them the desire to help quickly and by every *means in their power. No one can* afford to underestimate the importance of this as a means of helping the whole country to realize the danger to its existence. But it also points to the special role which the national groups must increasingly play in relation to developments in Europe proper.

It is an undeniable fact that the sentiments and actions of the large masses of Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Italians, Germans and others are not without influence upon their peoples in the countries of origin. For example, does anyone imagine that the hostility to Hitler of the million Hungarians in this hemisphere is not without some effect upon the opposition of the Hungarian masses at home toward participation in the war against the Soviet Union? In 1930 there were only 8,500,000 people altogether in Hungary. Certainly the million Hungarians on this side of the ocean can have some influence on Hungarian morale. Or take Rumania. There are probably less than 100,000 Rumanians in the United States. But what they have to say to their countrymen can have a powerful effect upon the Rumanian masses, far beyond their mere numbers. And in this respect it is not unimportant that the largest Rumanian organization in the country, the Union and League of Rumanian Societies of America, adopted a resolution at its 30th Convention during the first week of September not only condemning Hitlerism, but calling upon all Rumanian organizations in America to unite in struggle against Hitler and for aid to the Soviet *Union, England and all countries* fighting Hitler. More than that, it added its voice to that of Iuliu Maniu "in his demand, prompted by the will of the Rumanian people, that General Antonescu take Rumania out of the war." And the American Rumanians are determined to reach the Rumanian people with this message.

Or take Greece, whose total population in 1936 was given as 7,050,000. The Greek population in the United States amounts to over 400,000 and, as in the case of practically every other national group, its actual influence is far greater than its mere numerical strength. During the week of Aug. 17-23 close to 500 Greek-American organizations sent delegates to a Pan-Hellenic Congress in Cincinnati for the purpose of uniting the close to half a million Greek-Americans in the struggle against Hitler and for aid to the liberation struggle of the heroic Greek people and to the Soviet *Union, England and all* peoples fighting against Hitlerism. Point 6 of their Declaration of Purposes states "To help them [that is, the Greek people] keep aflame the fire of their courage and determination by constantly keeping before them our heartfelt sympathy and sincere

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interest in their cause, for the quick triumph of which we fervently pray to Almighty God; and at the same time keep alive the interest of the American people in the Greek cause." Can anyone doubt the effect this message will have upon the Greek warriors who have never laid down their arms against the Nazi conquerors?

Or take one of the most decisive sections of the national groups in America, the Slav groups totaling from 10,000,000 to possibly 15,000,000 people. Today the whole Slav population of America is aflame with hatred for Hitler and sympathy for the Soviet Union and the conquered Slav peoples of Europe. They are answering the call of the All-Slav Conference held in Moscow on Aug. 10 by convening a nationwide All-Slav Congress in Pittsburgh Nov. 21-23 to rally American Slavs in the great struggle to liberate their countries of origin from the yoke of Hitler and to aid the Soviet Union and all peoples fighting Hitlerism. This congress will speak directly to all the Slavs of Europe. Can anyone doubt that its voice will bring courage and strength and heightened determination to resist the brutal invader, to fight until death till freedom is won? The appeal of the rally of Slav peoples held in Moscow on Aug. 10 called forth a mounting upsurge of resistance in Yugoslavia and other Slav countries, and only a few days ago the Nazis had to rush up reinforcements to battle an army of 12,000 Serb patriots. The appeal of the American Slavs will unquestionably have a similar effect.

These examples suffice to show the extremely important role which the national groups can play in helping the enslaved masses of Europe to gather strength and rise up against the enslaver.

The glorious resistance of the Red Army and the people of the Soviet Union has given the people of the occupied countries new hope. It has encouraged them to pass over from passive hatred to an active resistance.

The forms and forces of this resistance are multiplying daily. Backed by a Western Front and inspired by the heroic struggle of the Red Army fighters on the Eastern Front, they could rapidly become a third front from which Hitler's hordes could never come out alive.

The development of this third front is of the utmost importance for the final defeat of Hitler. To this front in particular the national groups can and must make their special contribution. They can do this by insisting on the use of the short wave radio to speak to their countrymen, by swelling the armies of freedom in Canada, England and the Soviet Union, by isolating and driving out the pro-Hitler elements in their own groups here, by bringing their full weight to bear in support of complete participation in the struggle to defeat Hitler, and by pushing production to the maximum for aid to the embattled peoples in the home countries and all the fighters against Hitler. The key to the success of all of these efforts is in the formation of a national front for the complete and irrevocable victory over Hitler.

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PRIORITIES UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY*

BY PAT TOOHEY

UNEMPLOYMENT due to temporary dislocation arising out of the operation of defense priorities is creating serious problems in the automobile industry. Approximately 215,000 workers face a temporary, if not prolonged, lay-off between now and January 1.

I. Scope of the Curtailment Program

Government policy is definitely reconciled to the necessity of temporary dislocations and an unavoidable temporary unemployment in transferring the industry from non-defense to the primary need of production for military needs. The national interest does demand the most immediate and extensive preparations to defend the nation from the aggressions of Hitler fascism. Priorities in auto are designed to conserve or more properly allocate essential and scarce materials, to release men, management and plant facilities for the manufacture of armaments for the armed forces of the United States and in adequate amounts to fulfill America's pledges of aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

It is contemplated that the curtailment will result in the release of the following materials for defense production: carbon steel, 2,350,480 tons; alloy steel, 301,670 tons; malleable iron, 115,920 tons; secondary aluminum, 1,000,000 pounds; nickel, 300 tons; zinc, 25,000 tons; copper, 40,000 tons; lead, 31,000 tons; tin, 2,600 tons; chromium, 2,600 tons.

Consequently a reduction of 26½ per cent in passenger car production was ordered for August, September, October and November, and 48.2 per cent of December by O.P.M. and O.P.A.C.S. Other reductions will be made later to limit output of 1942 models to 2,150,000 cars, or approximately 50 per cent of 1941 production. The total output for these five months is set at 1,023,217. By December, therefore, the curtailment program will be 32.2 per cent in effect. In this period General Motors, Chrysler and Ford Motor Car Company will be permitted to make 878,356 cars of the 1942 model compared to their output of 1,332,690 in the last year, for the same five months. The six small

* This article is based on a report to the State Committee of the Communist Party of Michigan.

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companies, Studebaker, Hudson, Nash, Packard, Willys-Overland, were reduced 20.2 per cent.

General Motors, Ford and Chrysler was given a larger reduction because they produce 89.7 per cent of all passenger cars and also have the bulk of defense contracts.

Production quotas for the full year were not set. This is due to uncertainty of enough materials being available to guarantee even the authorized quotas. If production falls below the 50 per cent authorized quotas, danger to defense production and employment is obvious.

O.P.M. and O.P.A.C.S. have informed manufacturers of the government's desire for a higher production of trucks, truck trailers, passenger buses and military vehicles for the defense program, lend-lease program and contemplated aid to the Soviet Union. A production figure of 1,189,000 such units was set, 200,000 over the last year.

Manufacturers were promised a preference rating of A3 for delivery of all critical materials required to produce these vehicles. This seems to be insufficient incentive, for there is little evidence that the corporations are rapidly converting plants and retooling for production of these supplies. Yet, in Flint, Mich., where the Chevrolet plant is now producing fourteen trucks per hour, and where 6,500 of the 13,000 workers face lay-offs, workers assert that the plant can produce 1,000 units daily with only a few additions to the existing equipment. Nor is there evidence anywhere that the corporations are adequately retooling and remachining for defense production. And certainly they aren't permitting any expansion if it can be prevented.

The effect on employment will be as follows:

As of April 1, 1941, a total of 532,000 workers were employed on automobiles, parts and bodies. This excludes other thousands in industries related to or dependent on auto—glass, rubber, steel—who will also be affected. Since production in 1938 corresponds to what the 50 per cent curtailment establishes, and an average of 305,000 were employed in 1938, it is estimated that the curtailment by January 1 will mean a lay-off for 215,000 workers, 128,000 in Michigan.

This estimate allows for expected rehirings on defense jobs. Re-employment on converted defense jobs is not expected to immediately alleviate the situation. Such jobs are being created at the impossibly slow rate of 10,000 monthly. At this speed no more than 50,000 to 60,000 will be hired for newly-created defense jobs in auto, by January. As indicated by the policies of the companies heretofore, *not* all of these will be laid-off workers. Even taking the premise, however, that all newly-created auto defense jobs will be given to laid-off auto workers, it would still leave 155,000 in the industry. The Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission asserts that 60,000 workers from forty-two Detroit factories will be unemployed by January 1 and that "less than half of the 114,000 workers who will be released from non-defense employment . . . may be absorbed into new defense jobs

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. . . before the first of the year."

In Michigan, lay-offs in various towns are estimated as follows (on the basis of continuing the forty-hour week):

City	*Average Employment 1941*	*Estimated Lay-offs by Jan. 1, 1942*
Detroit	198,000	70,000
Flint	40,000	17,000
Pontiac	14,000	6,000
Saginaw	10,000	4,500
Lansing	12,000	5,250
Grand Rapids	2,700	1,000

In some companies lay-offs will occur as follows: Ford, of 90,000 workers, 30,000 off; Chrysler, of 57,000, 25,000 off; Packard, of 5,000 workers, 1,400 off; Hudson, of 11,000 workers, 5,000 off.

The effect on employment in General Motors will illustrate the situation.

As of June, 1941, General Motors employed about 250,000 workers. Only 34,000 of these were then on defense production. The present curtailment will reduce General Motors employment to 156,000 by January 1. That is, some 94,000 will lose their jobs. How many of these will be reemployed on defense work being done by General Motors is uncertain, because while General Motors was granted defense contracts of $1,113,700 (and has filled less than a third of this amount) the company, according to President C. E. Wilson, is creating defense jobs at the rate of 5,000 monthly "for the next six months," leaving a balance of 70,000 General Motors workers still idle. At this rate it will take General Motors a full *eighteen* months, or up to the middle of 1943, to reemploy those presently to be laid off. How this policy of General Motors is going to benefit defense and reemployment may be seen in this chart published by the U.A.W. organ:

	Non-defense General Motors Workers	*No. engaged on defense*	*Laid off*
June.....	216,000	34,000	
September	183,000	44,000	17,000
November.	129,000	53,000	68,000

—or, as time passes, increasing lay-offs, increasing idle men and machinery, failure to convert over to mass defense production and to rapidly create conditions for reemployment. The billion dollars' worth of defense contracts held by General Motors pile up and are filled slowly. Hundreds of small concerns close down and throw their workers on the street for want of such contracts. No serious effort is made to reequip existing plants for defense work. For example: it is a fact that in Fisher (Flint) at least 1,500 of the plant's 5,000 workers will be laid off and yet skilled men—tool and die-makers, pattern-makers, welders—who should be engaged on retooling, remachining and conversion, are working 24 to 32 hours weekly, themselves facing lay-offs.

It is a fact that in Buick 6,500 of the 15,000 workers face lay-offs although a defense project immediately engaging 1,000 workers and reemploying 5,000 by March can be instituted.

The defense program and national security against Hitlerism is endangered if it is subordinated to cor-

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poration profits, monopolist privileges and profiteering. If this situation continues defense will be weakened, morale will be undermined, production will decline, and among the people confusion and fears will be generated.

Scavenger elements of pro-fascism even now are trying to capitalize on the problems and to accentuate the confusion. They try to use the lay-offs as a weapon to argue people against the defense and lend-lease programs, to incite against the anti-Hitler policy of the Administration and against its pledges of aid to the nations fighting Hitlerism. An example of appeasement influence and glib propaganda permeating even responsible bodies is the convention last week of the Michigan Municipal League, where speakers "blasted priorities" and blamed priorities for wrecking municipal water, power, fire protection and social services, and implied that priorities must go or the nation would go bankrupt. Priorities or defense!

Uneasiness does exist among workers who face layoff. They have F.H.A. homes, installment furniture and automobiles to pay for. The appeasers prey upon this uneasiness. The appeasers ascribe all troubles to Roosevelt, to the anti-Hitler foreign policy, to the defense and lease-lend program, to "mixing in Europe," "getting into war," to "helping everyone under the sun except ourselves." They promise jobs and security if "we get out of Europe," "mind our own business," "help no one but ourselves."

They are also arousing anti-Semitism by attacking the Jewish people; arousing chauvinism and division by attacking the Negro people; blaming the Communists in an effort to arouse red-baiting and anti-Soviet feelings.

The purpose behind it all is to prevent national unity and the formation of a national front of the American people against Hitlerism and fascism.

II. Who Is Responsible?

We must be clear on two things: where shall responsibility be placed for the present difficulties? Are priorities necessary?

Hitlerism and the menace of fascism are responsible, first of all. Let there be no mistake about that. When German fascism ravaged Europe and proceeded to destroy the freedom of peoples and to enslave nation after nation, America was also marked for slaughter. To avoid the tragedy and tears of many nations who today cry in agony under the fascist boot, America must turn to defense, to arm, to produce guns, tanks and airplanes. Failure to heed the storm signals sweeping the world would place in jeopardy all that which our people cherish—independence, freedom, security and liberty. America must launch an all-out struggle against the fascist menace, to ally with and aid other nations and people fighting the same enemy. America has to build up an army, convert industrial processes to armament production—bombers, tanks, ships.

With industry transferring from non-defense to defense production

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and due to a temporary shortage of essential materials, priorities became necessary. A temporary dislocation in industry was inevitable—but not necessarily of an acute or prolonged nature. Even a certain sacrifice may be necessary, for few auto workers will insist upon maintenance of passenger production at the expense of protecting the nation. Auto workers are ready to sacrifice. They are ready to undergo the worst temporary suffering and deprivation, if necessary, to smash the fascist enemy. They understand that their British, Russian and Chinese brothers are making far greater sacrifices at this time.

Auto workers are for the destruction of Hitlerism, and for national defense. They properly feel themselves guardians of democracy and ready to stand guard to see that the defense program succeeds.

But the auto workers also know that while priorities are necessary and certain temporary adverse effects are inevitable, such effects can be cut to a minimum and made less painful, the number of sacrifices greatly minimized. Sacrifices because of monopoly control and sabotage they properly refuse to make. They also know that the intent of priorities—effective defense—can be speedily achieved if there is a policy based on the national interest.

This kind of policy would undertake all measures to minimize dislocations; carry through a rapid change-over of plant facilities for defense production by a serious program of retooling and reequipping. Lay-offs would be temporary for there would be steady re-employment in and transfer to newly created defense production plants. Shortages of vital materials would diminish for new sources would be opened up, waste prevented and corruption eradicated.

The aluminum, steel, copper and other monopolies, who are greatly responsible for this shortage, would be severely dealt with. The working of O.P.M., S.P.A.B, S.P.A.C.S. would be improved and the grip of profit-seeking monopolists broken. Expansion of *new* plant facilities would be stimulated. Defense contracts would not be bottlenecked in the hands of a few corporations but allocated so as to prevent dislocation and closures of small concerns. There would be national and regional planning of materials and productive capacity, and no idle men, machinery and unused resources. Labor and the trade unions would not be excluded from full and official participation with government and management in all aspects of defense and production and planning. Workers' conditions and standards would not be impaired.

This kind of policy is not in force in auto today. One of an *exactly opposite* kind is in force. It is sponsored by monopolistic corporations who strive to use the defense program and peril of the nation for purposes of profiteering, advancing their interest at the expense of the workers and the nation.

While Hitlerism is responsible for the need of the defense program these monopolists are responsible for sabotaging it. To them, our people's security and defense

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against Hitlerism are secondary considerations. They are patriotic when patriotism pays big.

Every serious and constructive proposal made by the U.A.W., which tries diligently to protect its members and the defense program, has been either blockaded by these monopolists, or adopted against their wishes. How do the monopolies view defense?

They are not allowing any expansion of new productive facilities, unless, of course, the government itself builds plants and turns them over to the corporations to operate for their own profit. They oppose expansion for fear it would increase production, lower prices, affect monopoly profits, and stimulate small business competition. Moreover, it removes their fear of idle capacity after the war. And profits are fine now—so what?

They are for concentrating defense production into existing plant facilities, and yet deliberately delay the converting of such plants for real defense production by a refusal to retool and remachine, or to coordinate on an industry-wide basis all tooling facilities, which would insure the maximum use of skilled workers.

They claim that reequipping of plant facilities for defense work is too costly. Still, almost any worker in any plant in Michigan can specifically indicate *where* and *how* some kind of defense work can be introduced into that plant with only a few additions to equipment. An example of this is the G.M. Ternstedt and Chevrolet Drop Forge plants in Detroit.

They hold the bulk of all defense orders, where thousands of small concerns which serve as feeders to the larger plants are forced to close down for a lack of defense orders or a lack of materials to continue non-defense production. Detroit newspapers estimate 90 per cent of such concerns are faced with closure. Facts show that 75 per cent of the defense orders are in the hands of fifty-six corporations, while 3,200 counties in the U.S. have been left untouched by defense orders and small plants are idle.

They shed crocodile tears for the defense program but evidence shows that in the last twelve months their primary concern has been the harvesting of record profits on regular automobile sales, and an utter neglect of defense. This has meant a diversion of equipment, of skilled labor, of engineering staffs, and management attention from defense problems. Otherwise, the conversion could have been worked out without creating mass unemployment, for as auto production was reduced, it would be replaced by defense production, providing an immediate defense job for every displaced worker. With good reason can the *Detroit News* complain "the great arsenal which Detroit has become is still not working at productive capacity."

They blame the lack of materials, and priority restrictions over available material, but vigorously oppose the Murray Plan, which is the C.I.O. solution for eliminating this bottleneck and sabotage. The Murray Plan would help break the hold of the aluminum, copper, steel

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monopolies and release a flow of materials.

They pay lip service to defense production but Detroit workers can point to a whole series of negligently produced articles, so imperfect as to be rejected by the government, and to "slow-downs" by various "defense" employers.

They have shown small concern in the big job of retraining, registration, classifying and transferring the laid-off to defense work; or for seniority rights, for reemployment, for union contracts and standards.

In Dodge, the Chrysler Tank and Arsenal job in Detroit, the company disregarded seniority, hired people off the streets, discriminated against the laid-off Negro Dodge workers, and later against the white Dodge workers. A strike threat by the local was necessary to stop it.

In Packard, the union newspaper charges "it has been a source of general dissatisfaction among seniority men on cars that the company was highly reluctant to give them transfers to aircraft, even though openings from time to time occurred. It was repeatedly charged by the union, with considerable evidence, that new men were hired in off the street for defense work."

In Buick (Chicago) the company started to hire a force of 20,000 workers off the street, from W.P.A., C.C.C., N.Y.A., and on an anti-Semitic and Jim Crow basis, while refusing to introduce defense work in existing General Motors plants.

That is why the auto workers face the need of combining the struggle against Hitlerism with an equally energetic defense of their economic interests, by combating the monopolist saboteurs of national defense. Then the automobile industry will be the arsenal of democracy.

III. Some Immediate Needs

The following is not a comprehensive program but represents the minimum of what can be done now.

1. *The 11 point program* adopted by the Buffalo Convention and subsequent U.A.W. measures are realistic and need greater application.

2. *The Murray Plan* should be adopted at once. A step in this direction has been taken by setting up an O.P.M.-U.A.W.-employer committee to deal directly with the unemployment problems. Even in its present limited sphere the good beginnings of this committee in settling transfers to defense jobs on a seniority basis indicate its potential effectiveness. The U.A.W. Emergency Unemployment Committee and locals will have to energetically enforce these provisions. But a committee of far broader powers is needed to guarantee full use of industry facilities and a rapid transition to all-out defense production. Through such a committee these essential steps should be taken:

(a) a full inventory of raw materials and tools available throughout the industry;

(b) Allocation and subletting of contracts to the hundreds of small firms who have been unable to secure defense work;

(c) Coordination of men and machines in the industry to speed retooling of auto plants for defense work. There are tremendous resources of unused machine tools and

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skilled labor. Proper organization of this power is the key to increasing many times the rate at which defense jobs are being created.

(d) A special inventory committee should be established to investigate and assure that all important metals that were bought in anticipation of metal shortages are put to immediate use for defense purposes.

3. Extra shifts could be instituted in defense industry, which means three or even four shifts and seven days per week if necessary. It is estimated this will place about 25 per cent of the laid-off. In Chrysler Tank and Arsenal plant this would result in reemployment of six to seven thousand workers. Employers' arguments about overtime and double-time pay are invalid because they have been making greater profits despite overtime pay, and because management, machinery, and taxes are the same, and the continued movement of production saves necessary material to start. There will be no lack of a supervisory force, for labor has plenty of capable people for promotion.

4. If employment falls, the thirty-two-hour week, in most contracts, could be instituted to take care of another 10 per cent of the laid-off.

5. Vocational training should be conducted in order to give those men with less seniority a chance to train for skilled labor while receiving unemployment compensation.

6. Request for a special session of Legislatures to take up the problem of paying compensation funds at the rate of $25 per week from the first day of the lay-off and extending payments beyond the sixteen weeks. In Michigan this commission has $110,000,000 frozen and has paid out only $10,000,000 in the last eight months.

7. Active cooperation of hundreds of thousands of auto workers is essential if monopoly sabotage and unemployment are to be checked. Community-wide conferences of auto workers will help develop a broad understanding of the problem locally and in the industry. In large corporations like General Motors, Chrysler, etc., conferences of an industry-wide nature could help concretize measures on a scale embracing all employees of the given corporation. There should also be community conferences, involving labor, the city, small business men, etc., to jointly deal with the local problem. The meeting held in Chicago, representing 1,500 mayors, unionists and business men, is a model for other regions. Towns, cities and communities should also launch local projects to help take up the slack, as new schools, sewers, clinics, and other necessary civic improvements.

8. There should be a moratorium on F.H.A. loans, on rents and debts during the period of temporary lay-offs. The rise in the cost of living should be combated everywhere.

9. And necessary above everything is unity of the auto workers and their leadership around the vital program of defending America by smashing Hitlerism, by all-out aid to the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and China, linked with the defense of their economic interests and the stability of their organization.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1941

State of New York
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Wallace Douglas, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE COMMUNIST and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Publisher, Communist Party of the U.S.A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.
Editor, Earl Browder, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor, None.
Business Manager, Wallace Douglas, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

WALLACE DOUGLAS, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of October, 1941.

MAX KITZES, Notary Public
(My commission expires March 30, 1943)

(SEAL)

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JOSEPH STALIN

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